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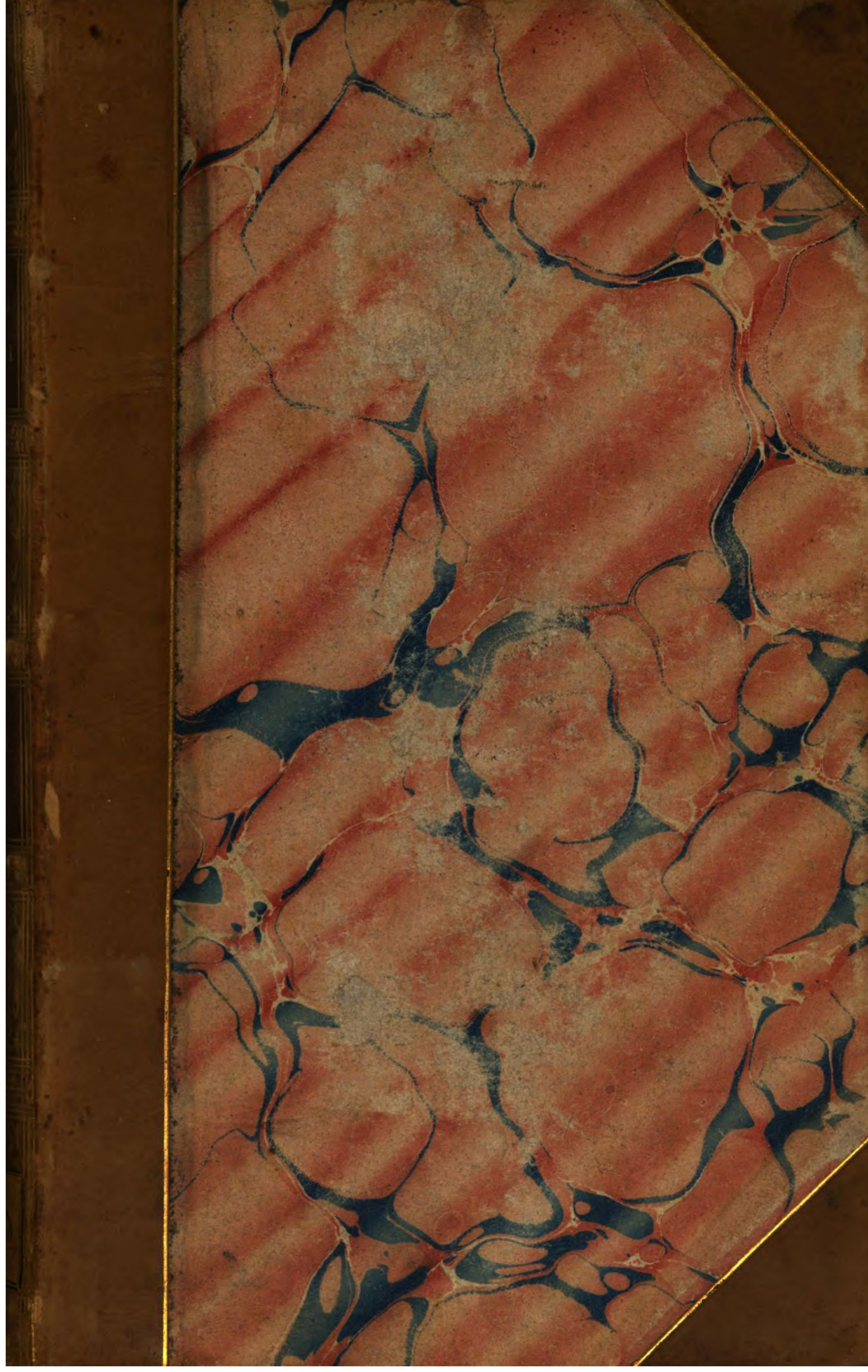
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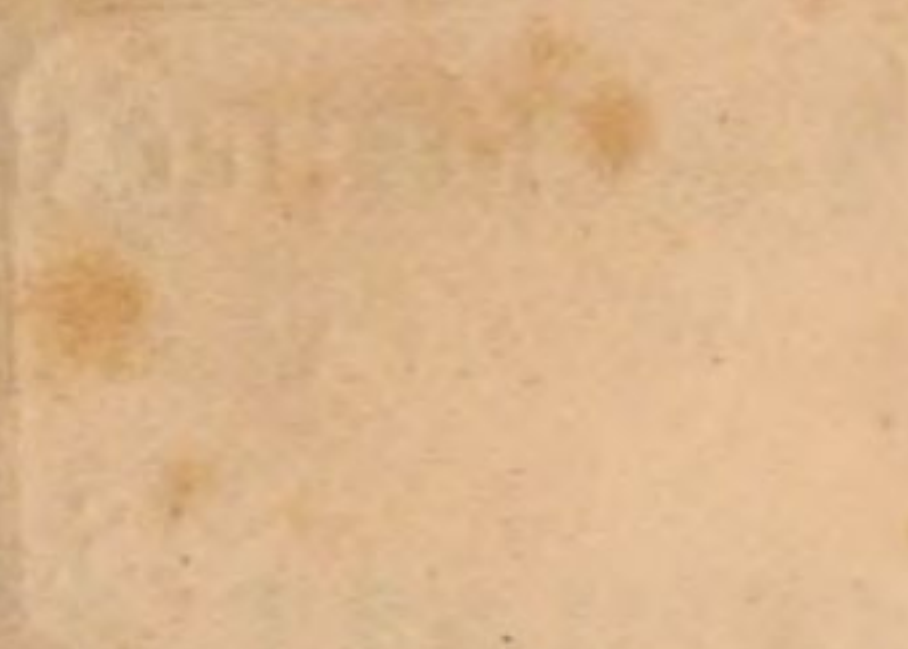


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THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY JOHN STOW
1618

OF THE CITY OF LONDON

VOL. II.

LONDON

PRINTED BY I. B. STONE

AT THE SIGN OF THE

WINDMILL

CHELSEA HOSPITAL,
AND ITS TRADITIONS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"THE COUNTRY CURATE,"—"THE SUBALTERN,"
"THE CHRONICLES OF WALTHAM," &c.

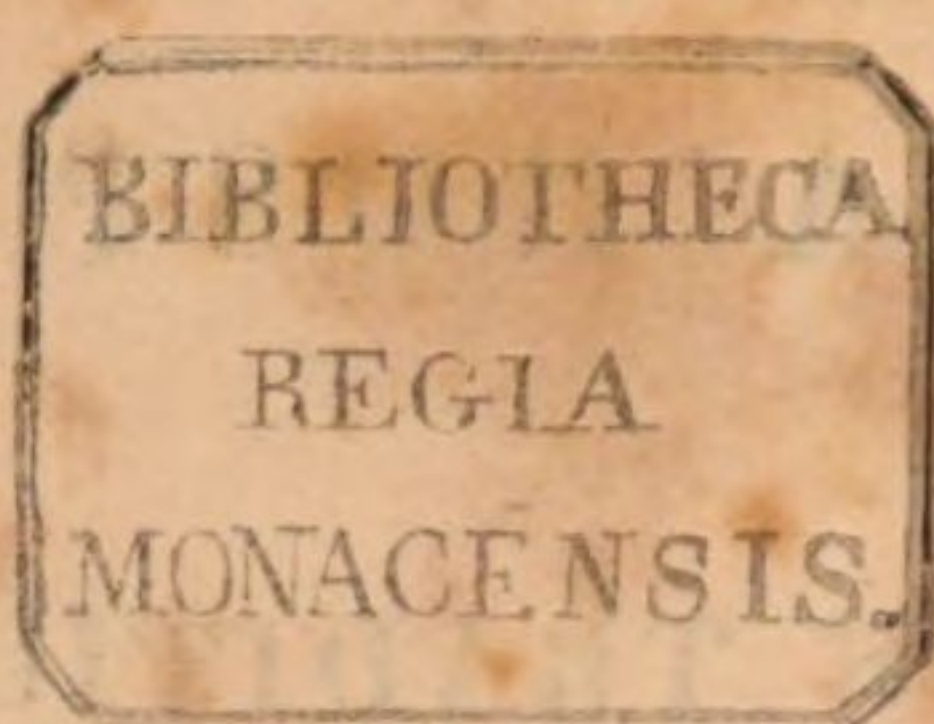
Go with old Thames, view Chelsea's glorious pile,
And ask the shattered hero whence his smile;
Go view the splendid domes of Greenwich—go,
And own what raptures from reflection flow.
Hail! noblest structures, imaged in the wave,
A nation's grateful tribute to the brave—
Hail! blest retreats from war and shipwreck, hail!
That oft arrest the wandering stranger's sail.
Long have ye heard the narratives of age,
The battle's havoc and the tempest's rage;
Long have ye known reflection's genial ray
Gild the calm close of valour's various day.

ROGERS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1838.



CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

BOOK II. *continued.*

CONTAINING GRAVE MATTERS OF MILITARY
HISTORY.

VOL. II.

B 40

A TRADITION OF TANGIER.

CHAPTER II.

In which is shown how Tangier was defended.

BETWEEN the date of Colonel Fitzgerald's assumption of the chief command, and the year 1668, various events befell, of which it is not necessary for my present purpose to give any detailed account. The dreaded breach with Spain did not occur. For a while, indeed, the Spaniard seems to have dealt covertly with Guyland, the chief of the Moorish tribe whose territories lay contiguous to Tangier; and Guyland himself ceased not to maintain the threatening attitude which the first movement in advance by Lord Teviot had induced him to assume. But no acts of positive hostility took place. On the contrary, the Moors were content to carry forward the building of their new town, and otherwise to bring

the country adjacent into a state of cultivation ; while the English busied themselves in strengthening and enlarging the works, by means of which they expected to render Tangier one of the most valuable of the foreign possessions belonging to the British crown.

But though the Spaniard overcame his jealousy so far as to abstain from any aggressive operations against Tangier, the garrison was not on that account permitted to relax its vigilance. There was war between Great Britain and Holland ; and the Dutch navy was then no despicable rival for the British fleet to contend withal. Moreover, the ill-assorted alliance which had subsisted for a time between England and France suffered interruption ; and France, espousing the cause of the Dutch, turned her arms against her former associate. On more than one occasion, therefore, the anxiety of the Tangierine authorities was kept upon the stretch by the appearance of a hostile squadron in the bay, while a broadside or two directed against the mole taught the gunners to work their guns under the fire of an enemy. Nevertheless, the colony conti-

nued to thrive. As a place of trade it does not indeed appear ever to have been of much value, for the harbour was defective, and the neighbouring coast swarmed with pirates; while, according to the miserable policy of the times, it was often left without necessary supplies from home. Yet the population increased; and the establishment of regular courts of law and record gave consistency and form to the whole machine. Neither can it be said that a better school for the formation of soldiers was at that period to be found throughout the compass of the British empire. Patience, vigilance, endurance of fatigue, contempt of danger, and promptitude to obey—these were the habits which a sojourn of months and years within this African fortress taught men to acquire; and that they were not carelessly taken up, may be inferred from the fact that both Marlborough and Peterborough, the most illustrious warriors of the age, first acquired a knowledge of their duty in Tangier.

The post of governor, though both honourable and lucrative, seems to have been little

coveted ; at least the applications for recall by the several individuals who from time to time obtained it were frequent. Of these gentlemen it is not worth while to transcribe even a list. Enough is done when I state that Major Sir Tobias Bridge gave place to Colonel Fitzgerald ; that Colonel Fitzgerald was temporarily succeeded by Colonel Norwood ; that Colonel Norwood gave place to Lord Bellasis, as Lord Bellasis did again to Colonel Sackville. By all of these, and by others who came after them, the same, or nearly the same, system of policy was pursued. They were continually on the alert. They emptied the town of multitudes of Jews who had found an asylum there, and were very shy how they permitted foreigners to establish themselves within the walls. They had spies in all the Moorish cities far and wide, as well as in Cadiz, Gibraltar, and the principal Spanish stations near ; and they exerted themselves to counterwork the proceedings of suspected persons, many of whom, in spite of their utmost vigilance, lingered within their own lines. They desired peace with their neighbours, yet never seemed

to shun war ; and they caused themselves to be upon the whole respected. As the works increased in extent and importance, moreover, they found it necessary to apply for constant reinforcements ; and, straitened as the resources of the supreme government were, these applications were not absolutely disregarded ; for the two regiments of infantry were recruited to two thousand men, and three troops of horse, of one hundred each, were added. Thus, being prepared for any event, they were the better able to take advantage of a change which gradually occurred in Guyland's disposition ; who, finding himself suddenly attacked by a neighbouring African prince, and deserted by many of his own subjects, was glad to throw himself for support and protection on the English. These were of course afforded, though sparingly, and at a rate as favourable as might be to the settlement ; and for some years the hostility of Moor against Moor ensured to the successive governors of Tangier an armed peace.

So stood affairs up to the month of July 1668, at which time Colonel Norwood held

the office of governor. A change was, however, at hand ; of which, in one of his letters addressed to Lord Arlington, at that time principal secretary of state, the following statement is made :—" Since my last by Colonel Fitzgerald, the revolutions of Barbary, from north to south, have been so violent, and all in favour of the King Taffaletta, that the whole interest of the country does at present seem to be declared unto a certain point, nothing of consideration remaining to give check unto the conqueror on any part ; for Guyland, having gotten notice about the beginning of this month that (his only hopes) Rembooker was defeated, his army not only scattered into all quarters, but his person captivated and sent in chains to Fez on a mule, began to think it high time to meditate his proper safety, and resolved to place no further confidence in those about him, who, to his knowledge, contrived daily to change their course of life, and to make their peace at his ruine and the price thereof." This was not a satisfactory condition for affairs to have assumed abroad, inasmuch as the conqueror, indignant at the support afforded to his

rival, soon evinced a disposition to carry his arms against Tangier itself; while within the lines there proved a deficiency of provisions so lamentable, that the arrival of four hundred good soldiers from Portugal was felt as a source of weakness rather than of strength. Colonel Norwood, however, being possessed of a resolute mind, did not scruple to lay an embargo on all the vessels in the port, and to apply to the wants of the garrison certain cargoes of flour, which, being private property, had been designed for a different market; and though the mayor espoused the cause of the merchants, and complained of the violation of chartered rights, he treated such complaint with perfect indifference. It is indeed curious to observe in his despatches how delicate it was, even then, for a military governor to set himself in array against the civil power. But Colonel Norwood justly held that cases of necessity must be dealt with after a fashion peculiar to themselves, and does not appear to have received rebuke from the home authorities for acting up to his theory. Thus, by the exercise of a bold discretion, all hazard

of immediate disaster was removed ; and in spite of a long arrear of pay, no money having been issued to the troops for nine months, the soldiers were kept in good humour, and the safety of the settlement ensured.

The apprehensions which had been entertained of Taffaletta's hostile views were not groundless. The Moors began again, from time to time, to lay ambushes, making frequent efforts to cut off the reliefs as they passed from the body of the place to the out-works, and sustained some stout skirmishes at the advanced line. As the country was deep, and much tangled with wood, affording admirable opportunity for this species of warfare, Colonel Norwood conceived the notion of fighting the enemy with a new weapon. He procured from Spain a number of large dogs, whether bloodhounds, or the sagacious sheep-dog still common in the country, I have not been able to ascertain ; and not only kept them within his intrenchments to give the alarm when the Moors moved by night, but hunted the woods and glens near with the very best effect. Take the following specimen of good

service performed by these noble brutes. The governor writes to Mr. Creed, under-secretary of state, from Tangier, July 16-26, 1669. After acknowledging the receipt of stores, and complaining that the cannon sent were not of the required calibre, he says, "This day I hope to finish the parapet of the left-handed bastion in Fort Charles; a work I was necessitated to fall upon without asking their lordships' permission, which I was in duty, and in conformity to their lordships' commands, obliged unto. But it falling out that in this case a sudden decay of the parapet, made in half by my Lord Teviot with cased deals filled with earth, discovering itself in a ruin, that left our men naked on the rampart, (which also was but thirteen foot from the ground,) I had not time to solicit their lordships' directions, but now have reason to ask their lordships' pardon. The preparations of stone carried to the place several mornings by three hundred soldiers gave the Moors no small jealousy, and so alarmed the country round about, that they flocked in great numbers in sight of our forts to see the consequence of that our

labour ; but finding no occasion given them to exercise their valour by our salleys upon them, they had recourse to their usual practice of dressing ambushes, as in the second visit we had felt too sensibly, had not the doggs ordained to make discovery of the hollow places by the western cone-fort performed their part according to the highest expectation. For although the guard of that redoubt has not been relieved for these many months in any certain method, whereby the Moors might hope to cut them off in passing or repassing, it fell out accidentally, (but in order to another discipline we have observed these two years,) that this ambush happened upon the same day that the captain of the watch is obliged to visit all the forts, to take the fifteen days' account of expense of the stores, and to see that nothing is wanting in case of an alarm. Captain Daniel's turn was to make this visit, and he was humanely preserved (as has been said) by employing the dogs to make the first discovery ; who raising from certain holes some forty of the enemy, our men were ready to salute them, making them pay their retreat with the

loss of two men within our stockades, many others wounded, and carried off with difficulty enough." Thus were skirmishes continually maintained ; while the hot season beginning to set in with violence, sickness prevailed within the walls to a considerable extent.

Towards the end of this year Colonel Norwood was recalled, not, as it appears, without some slur upon his character. Indeed I may state, once for all, that while the valour of each was more conspicuous than that of another, the grossest jobbing seems to have been systematically carried on by all the authorities in the place. He was succeeded by the Earl of Middleton, who patched up a truce for six months with Guyland, and had the address to get it confirmed by Taffaletta. The latter, indeed, with the instability of Barbarians in general, became reconciled at this time to his tributary ; and being assured of two hundred barrels of powder from the Christian stores, granted them a suspension of arms, with the right of traffic in the interior. The neglect of the authorities at home, however, rendered the last-named privilege of little real value. For

twenty months not a farthing of pay had been issued to the troops ; and though it was well known that a second Dutch war impended, the utmost indifference towards their condition prevailed. Still there was comparatively little murmuring. Indeed, the condition of South Africa, subject to perpetual revolutions and convulsions, sufficed to keep men's minds too anxious to leave leisure for complaints.

The death of Taffaletta, which occurred in 1672, brought on a great civil war, in which all the provinces and districts of this vast continent took part. There were two rivals for the imperial throne,—one the brother, the other the son of the deceased,—of whom the first was proclaimed at Morocco, the last at Fez. The English were induced to connect themselves with the adherents of Muly Hamet, the son ; and so became exposed to the implacable hostility of Ishmael, with a portion of whose forces, on the 19th of September 1675, they fought a somewhat unfavourable battle. Misled by false information, they ventured, to the amount of five hundred foot and thirty horse, to make a night-march up the country ; and

being attacked at dawn, were driven back with some loss.

This expedition occurred when the Earl of Insequin was governor, and was managed, sorely against his will, by Sir Palmer Fairborne, a brave officer, on whom, when the earl returned home, the command of the place devolved. The affair was not only unfortunate in itself, but it led to many subsequent misfortunes. The Moors gathered courage, and, having closed round the outworks, rendered it impossible to pass from point to point, except by dint of hard fighting. Thus the war became from thenceforth fiercer than before; and being waged with very little intermission, presents, more than it has hitherto done, materials for connected military narrative.

CHAPTER III.

Which shows how reverses may begin.

I AM not going to try my reader's patience by laying before him a minute account of every little skirmish and affair of posts which marked the progress of hostilities. He will have learned enough when I tell him, that from 1675 up to 1678, that is to say, during a space of almost three years, Tangier sustained a continued blockade by land, with frequent insults to its commerce by sea. Throughout the whole of this extended period, however, not a foot of ground was lost. Though taught by the Christians to become excellent soldiers, and supplied with cannon and military stores from Spain and elsewhere, the Moors could not force so much as the outer line, but stood at bay before a chain of redoubts, connected

by a palisadoed trench and a low and feeble breast-work ; and it is worthy of remark, that all this while the usual grounds of complaint were afforded to the lieutenant-governor. Money he had none ; his provisions were scanty ; few reinforcements reached him, and those of the worst kind ;—in a word, he had nothing to rely upon except his own determined courage, and the honour and gallantry of his officers and men. It was impossible, however, in the nature of things, that a contest so unequal could be maintained for ever. A check came at last ; and, as I am dealing with facts, and not with fiction, I think it best to describe the affair in the language of him who was most deeply interested in its result.

In 1678, the command of the troops at Tangier had devolved upon Colonel Fairborne ; and he writes, January 7, to the following effect :

“Last night, about nine o’clock, I was alarmed by the continual firing of Charles, Henrietta, Kendall, Poll, and Anne Forts, and found, by the firing and hallooing of the Moors, (the season being extraordinary dark,)

that there were great numbers within our lines, and that the forts above mentioned were attacked on all sides. I had ordered our men to march out to their assistance, but was persuaded to the contrary,—first, because of the darkness,—next, because we certainly saw by the firing of the enemy they were very numerous, and in all probability had laid an ambush for me, expecting it.

“After half an hour’s conflict in the nature expressed, I saw Kendall Fort blown up, and soon after a-fire, and the enemy still very hot against Charles and Henrietta. On a sudden I perceived off the castle wall the door open, and a great light in Henrietta; by which I concluded it lost, which proved accordingly. For after about three hours’ conflict, the enemy withdrew out of shot. This morning I was abroad with my horse, and about two hundred foot, commanded by Captain Leslie, and marched them directly to Henrietta, whence the Moors, before I could get, departed. I have taken possession, and found most of the things in; especially a small falcon, which I was fearful they might have carried away.

They had found a way for stink-pots, which, upon its breaking, make a sudden flame, and from thence proceeds such a stink, that men are suffocated with it. This fort was tyled, and about twenty foot high; so, to make room for these pots to get in, they had long forks, and, as we suppose, stood upon one another to get the tyles off; which done, with great force they break the door, and entered. We found in that fort but two killed; so conclude the other eight, being ten in all, were carried away alive.

“I had no sooner made myself master of that fort, than I marched to Kendall Fort; where, after placing my foot in such advantageous posts as would always be able to make my retreat, although they had five hundred horse lodged in the valley underneath it, undiscovered, (which I much suspected,) I advanced with my horse and six file of foot, when we found all in a ruin, the men burnt to ashes, the pallisades pulled, and a small falconet of brass, which had been plant under the fort ever since it was first built, carried away by the enemy. So all I could do there was to

carry in the pallisades to Charles Fort, I mean as many as was pulled up ; and must leave the rebuilding till we are better stored with lime, provisions made of stone, and fair weather to work in. The blowing up was, as we conceive, by those pots ; finding two of them by the fort, all bloody ; so suppose the party that was to make execution with them were killed. When I came into town, Mr. Shore and I made trial of their operation, and found it to be as I have related. They are made as big as a large hand-grenade, match to be lighted at both ends, which, upon its fall, kindles the combustible matter within it. There were also ten men in this fort, who were all killed and burnt; amongst which was a most admirable officer and serjeant, that had commanded it from the first. I have now all hands employed in fitting up Henrietta Fort, and in securing the rest of the forts from the danger of those fire-pots, which is a very hard task ; but, if the enemy give me time, I will do my best. We apprehend they have got among them many Turks that were bred in the wars of Candi, and knows the nature of such at-

tempts ; for, since we knew them, nothing of the like nature had ever been attempted ; and without doubt this will encourage them to such a degree that they will not remain so satisfied : so that I most humbly beseech you to represent to his most sacred Majesty, as well the well fortifying of the town, the building substantial forts abroad, as also the increase of militia, for the one cannot hold out without the other ; and this to be timely considered before the mole comes to such a perfection as may make them not value the loss of four or five thousand men to acquire the place."

I do not know how far it may be necessary to remind the reader that Southern Africa, though nominally attached to the empire of Morocco, is, and for many centuries past has been, portioned out into a great number of petty principalities. Of these the chiefs or princes are, within their respective districts, supreme ; so much so indeed, that, unless the emperor be a man of more than ordinary resolution, the obedience which they pay to him is much more nominal than real. At the period concerning which I am now writing, the impe-

rial throne was, however, filled by a resolute and able monarch. Ishmael seems to have inherited a good deal of his father's talents, and prevailing over his rival, and reannexing Morocco to Fez, he became to the English, who had unfortunately declared against him, an implacable enemy. Hence his tributary potentates, though long accustomed to live at peace with their neighbours, were compelled to continue the hostilities; which were at best interrupted from time to time by a short truce, to the full as perilous to the Christian settlers as open war.

Time passed; and, though there occurred a constant change in the persons of the governors, I do not find that the condition of the settlement was at all improved. Within the walls there was little good understanding between the civil and military authorities, who mutually accused one another of peculation and injustice. The garrison, likewise, evinced occasional symptoms of relaxed discipline; and both officers and men quarrelled, fought, and became mutinous. Without, again, the Moors continued to press them. Having pro-

cured the assistance of European engineers, and drawing supplies of arms and ammunition from Cadiz, they pushed their approaches with such vigour, that by the spring, 1680, the British advanced posts were all in a state of close blockade. In the end of April this year, Colonel Fairborne reports that there was very little chance of holding Forts Charles and Henrietta longer, because the enemy had drawn their works between them and the town, and were in such force as to render all attempts at relief hopeless. Indeed, despite of the devoted gallantry of the brave men who held them, both forts offered to capitulate on honourable terms. But the Moors were elated with their past successes. They would listen to no proposition, except that of an unconditional surrender; by which both officers and men would, of course, be reduced to a state of slavery. Henrietta Fort being further removed than Fort Charles, and in a state of absolute dilapidation, opened its gates. The troops who occupied Fort Charles adopted a nobler resolution. I again leave Colonel Fairborne to tell the tale.

“Tangier, 14 May, 1680.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,

“Toward ten o'clock at night, the 12th instant, they called from Fort Charles (it was within reach of a speaking-trumpet) that we should be ready to assist them on Friday morning, the 14th instant, about seven o'clock ; in order to which we got four hundred and eighty men in the night to the castle, because we could move no way in the morning without being discovered by the enemy from the sand-hills. But ere this was done, the 13th, in the morning, my Lord Insequin called a council of war, to whom he gave account of the resolution of those in the fort to fight their way through : so the number above specified was agreed upon, and how far they should advance to facilitate their retreat. They were divided in five several bodies, the whole being commanded by Major Boynton ; the forlorn consisting of seventy-two men, whereof twelve was grenadiers, commanded by Captain Hume, two lieutenants, and one ensign ; the main body by the major, Captain John Gibbs, Captain George Wingfield, Captain Ely, with

Lieutenant George Talbot, three other lieutenants, and four ensigns; the reserve, commanded by Captain Moncrief, Captain Barber, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. Captain Lofty, with one lieutenant and one ensign, commanded ten files on the right flank, or to Fort Charles; and one Lieutenant Clerke, with six files, to the left, and the horse upon the left. My lord condescended to my request over-night that I should command the party abroad; but the next day signifying it to the council of war, it was opposed by them all, and all that ever I could do prevailed nothing, my Lord Insequin absolutely commanding to the contrary: so was forced to submit, and stay at the battery on Peterborough Tower with his excellency.

“The 13th, in the morning, Henrietta Fort surrendered; and about four o'clock in the morning they blew up their mine, which carried away about half the fort; and a little before six we saw from the castle near one thousand foot march up from Jews' River, with the English soldiers of the fort, amongst whom there was an Irishman, who understood

all that was said in the speaking-trumpet over-night ; and being come, as supposed, to the alcade's tent, where they were examined, and without doubt discovered what Charles Fort intended that morning ; for, immediately upon it, we saw all the field covered with them, running to their trenches with all speed ; which Charles Fort perceiving,—having already spiked up all the great guns, broke their arms, and put all the ammunition into the countermines they had made, and laid a train,—they sallied out of the fort ; Captain St. John, as youngest captain, leading the van, and Captain Trelawney bringing up the rear, and the last man out of the fort. Ensign Richard Roberts, a nimble, stout young man, staid to put fire to the train, which took so good effect, that, ere our men got to the enemy's trenches, the south-east bastion blew up. In the mean time our men advanced with what speed they could up to the trenches, (I mean the forlorn), commanded, as I have said, by Captain Hume, of the Earl of Dunbarton's regiment. Our men being come to the enemy's trenches, found a quadruple trench, deep and broad. Not-

withstanding, they got over three ; but that which was next to the town being deeper and broader than any of the rest, there only got over forty out of near two hundred ; Captain St. John, Lieutenant Clause, a brave officer, and Ensign Roberts, who set fire to the mine. All the rest cut to pieces, excepting thirteen and a boy taken prisoners, as the alcade signified by a flag of truce about four hours afterwards. Brave Captain Trelawney being shot climbing up the last trench, and there left dead.

“ In the mean time the enemy issues out of their trenches, endeavouring to get between the forlorn and the main body ; but Captain Hume behaved himself so bravely, that he put them to stand. But one of their prime men, being more valiant than the rest, pushes into the lane with his horse, overturns Captain Hume at the head of his party, but falls off his horse, when he was killed by the captain and his men. The main body, consisting of one hundred and twenty-four men, being in the rear of him, without being attacked, betook themselves to flight ; and likewise the reserve, who

gave way to the main body till they came near our counterscarp, which gave the enemy more encouragement to persist in destroying the forlorn; but they were so well commanded by Captain Hume that he made his retreat; and our men, facing about, facilitated much their retreat. In this action we lost, of those that sallied from the town, fifteen private sentinels, and one lieutenant, Bayley, of the forlorn, mortally wounded, Captain Ely, Moncrief, and Captain Hume shot in the leg, and several soldiers wounded. Captain St. John, after he got over the fourth trench, faced about to help his companions, and staid whilst he got together what was brought off; but in his retreat was shot through the shoulder, under the plate-bone, which makes us fear very much his recovery."

The result of this affair gave as much courage to the Moors as it tended to depress and dishearten the English; yet the governor resolved to put a bold face upon the matter. He accepted the alcade's offer to bury his dead, but would hearken to no proposals for surrendering the rest of his outposts; even

though there accompanied the proposition an assurance that no attack would be made upon the town, but that all things would be left in the state in which the English first found them. Alas, it was a brave, but an untenable resolution this ! The enemy gathered strength every hour. The guns taken in the captured redoubts were turned against such as still held out ; some of the shot even struck the town wall, and passed through it ; upon which Lord Insequin, at length convinced that peace was necessary to the existence of the colony, accepted it on the terms proposed by the Moors. Thus, after years of hard fighting, and a prodigious expenditure of money, the British dominions at Tangier were reduced to their original narrow dimensions ; while the government at home was warned that if they desired to retain even these, large supplies both of men and munitions must without delay be afforded.

The Moors never contracted in those days treaties of *peace* with the Christians. The utmost that they would concede to Lord Insequin was a truce of four months by land ; and his lordship's necessities compelling him to

accede to it, he returned to England. Colonel, now Sir Thomas Fairborne, assumed, in consequence, the chief command; and ventured to urge his own claims, and those of his companions in arms, upon the home authorities. They were admitted with great reluctance, and acceded to grudgingly, so that his letters, throughout a large portion of the truce, are all of the gloomiest kind. Fortunately for him, however, there arrived in the harbour, on the 23rd of September, "the Swiftsure; with several stores of war and provisions, and one hundred and thirty-five horse in three troops;" a scanty supply, doubtless, yet such as sufficed to put him in a condition to answer, as became a British officer, the threats of the enemy; for, within the space of a week, the alcade had sent to announce that in eight days' time the truce would terminate, and Fairborne, though he met the announcement with a bold front, was far from feeling at his ease. Now, however, he thought himself comparatively safe. His infantry had from time to time been enlarged; he had good engineers, particularly one Colonel Brock-

man; and he had the promise of seven hundred firelocks, and one thousand matchlocks. No sooner, therefore, had the enemy begun to fire upon the sentries, than he assumed the offensive; and once more established posts upon the ruins of the old forts. These he strongly stockaded; and, setting a large portion of his people to work, had in a short time the satisfaction to find that Pole Fort, as it was called, might once more be counted upon, as partially covering the town from insult, and affording shelter to the shipping in the harbour.

CHAPTER X.

Which shows how reverses may be remedied.

THE reluctance which the home authorities had so long exhibited to treat Tangier as a settlement worth preserving, seems by this time to have worn away. A battalion of guards came out to reinforce the infantry of the place, the admiral on the station sent a strong body of seamen, the cavalry was increased to three troops of fifty men each ; besides which, permission was obtained to take into pay two hundred Spanish horse, which the king, then in alliance with Charles the Second, had professed himself willing to lend. All this had the effect of sharpening the governor's zeal, and enlarging his courage. Sorties from the town became more frequent and fierce than ever : the Moors were perpetually

harassed in their lines ; every inch of fresh ground which the English seized was fortified, and the war raged with a degree of vigour which had not hitherto been displayed. Once more I betake myself to an official source,—namely, to the journal of Mr. Shore, who, holding office in the town as commissioner for the government at home, kept up with the secretary of state a constant correspondence. The following is his account of a series of operations, to which (I use his own language) “history can scarce furnish us with a parallel.”

“Thursday, Sept. 23, 1680.—This day, Admiral Herbert's people, as before, had the advance post at Monmouth Fort, the horse being posted as formerly ; and so, by advance parties on the several advantageous lines from whence the enemy might molest us, we preserved our people quiet at their work about Pole Fort, where we had begun a trench for the better security of our stockade ; which being likely to be a work of time, and the stockade being low in several places, our commander-in-chief thought it wisdom, for the preventing

any sudden effort of the enemy in the night, to plant another stockade at convenient distance without our ditch; which work was prosecuted with great expedition, planting our stockade pointing inward at an angle of forty-five degrees, by which means the enemy could very ill get over it, and, when over, had no way possible to get out; which would, in case of any attempt, greatly expose them both to our shot and hand-grenades. This, besides the additional cover it gives our work, is a great cover to our people at their labour in the ditch, where they might securely prosecute the same, though the enemy should force our advance parties to retire. We sustained little damage during the day's service; only a lieutenant of the king's battalion was shot in the thigh. It is remarkable, and ought to be mentioned in favour of our service, that in our advance we forced the enemy from several lines from whence they galled us, levelling such as gave them any advantage upon us.

“Friday, 24.—This day we possessed the ground as formerly, the enemy still retiring as we advanced. We prosecuted vigorously our

new stockade, and wrought hard upon our traverses, coverings, and other works within Pole Fort, the rain beginning to molest us; and concluded this day without much loss or action.

“Saturday, 25.—This day our new stockade being very nigh finished, and our people working in pretty good covert, our commander-in-chief forbore to send out parties so far advanced as formerly, having always so prudent a regard for the preservation of the soldiers as might consist with the safe prosecuting our fortifications at Pole Fort. Hitherto we heard no news of the enemy’s cannon, whereof we knew they were provided, which was wondered at; but about noon, having made a battery in the bottom betwixt Charles and Kendall forts, as much in covert from our artillery in the town as was possible, they saluted us with their great guns, when the shot killed us one man and wounded another. This put us on labouring all we might in raising a battery on that side of Pole Fort, purposing to mount some cannon thereon with all possible expedition to oppose to theirs.

They fired but very slowly, and about three or four of the clock discontinued; discouraged, it is to be presumed, from two or three lucky shot we made with a brazen saker we mounted this morning at Pole Fort. Besides the damage we received from the enemy's cannon, we suffered some from our own people by accidents. Our commander-in-chief ordered the retreat pretty early this evening, which cost little or no dispute, ordering our carpenters, &c. to prosecute night and day the battery we had begun at Pole Fort.

“ 26.—This day, being Sunday, was a day of rest, saving that we continued working on our battery aforesaid, the enemy giving us little or no molestation. We also continued the use of our cannon from the castle, where, unfortunately, a demi-culverin split, killing one of our gunners and wounding another.

“ Monday, Sept. 27.—This morning (it having rained hard all the night) our commander-in-chief thought it not advisable to march out as formerly, the ground being very slippery, and the weather so incommodious that it would have been a greater harassing and

discouragement to our souldiers than could be recompensed by the benefit we might propose by their service, the weather not being fit either for fighting or working. Howbeit, we continued making of shelter in our new work, to preserve the garrison dry; and prosecuted, as far as the weather would permit, our new battery, endeavouring likewise to perform something in our ditch within our new stockade; but the weather continuing bad, and the enemy, by reason of our not marching out, advancing to our outposts, much discouraged us at our work, killing one of our carpenters and wounding another; so that they were ordered to retire, and such only to work as were in covert, and a party of commanded men to carry up materials, which by the old line of communication they might do without hazard, being guarded only by a small party of horse.

“Tuesday, Sept. 28.—This morning our commander-in-chief called a council of the principal officers, when it was debated whether it was needful to take the field as formerly, the weather still discouraging us; and being all of opinion that we might carry on several neces-

sary works within the fort without any great hazard, (several blinds being made to shelter our workmen from the enemy's shot,) it was resolved that we should proceed vigorously within the said work, with only a small guard of horse to sustain our people marching up to the fort with materials, by which method both our horse and foot would be the better enabled to perform their duty when occasion should require ; which practice was to continue till we should be pressed to another resolution by any extraordinary operations of the enemy, which hitherto have given us no manner of jealousy by approach.

“ Wednesday, 29.—This day we continue our method of working as yesterday. In the morning we discovered from the castle a new work of the enemy upon our old line to the right of Pole Fort, composed of fascines and such like materials, with three openings or embrasures, representing a battery ; which being exposed to our cannon from the castle, several good shot were made thereat. This work is within musket-shot of Pole Fort, which, it is to be presumed, discourages the

enemy (if they intend it for a battery) from making use thereof; but from their old battery by Charles Fort they made several shot of various sizes, but without any execution. We received very little damage this day from the enemy's shot at Pole Fort, an officer and a private soldier or two being only slightly wounded. Out of Admiral Herbert's party,—whose post, as I have formerly observed, is to the south-east of the town, by Cambridge Fort,—upon whom the enemy fired very briskly, we lost one gentleman, who, being shot in the body, died in the evening: he had been formerly a page to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. The enemy, whether to possess us with an opinion of the increase of their numbers, or to welcome the alcade, or for some other reason which we cannot divine, fired three volleys, beginning upon the right at Monmouth Fort, continuing quite round our old line as far as Fort Charles. About seven o'clock this morning happened an earthquake, which, to such as were in their houses or upon the walls, gave much apprehension, it not being usual here; but to others

that were in action it was not so perceivable.

“Thursday, Sept. 30.—This day we marched out with our workmen, and proceeded according to the former method. We cannot discover any extraordinary works of the enemy, saving that at Monmouth Fort they have cast up a little line or breastwork, from whence they might fire with more shelter than they could before; as also several remote lines towards Anne Fort, which we consider to be in order to their marching in better covert of both horse and foot from our cannon. Our having forborne now for four or five days from taking the field, hath a little emboldened the enemy, who, approaching nearer than ordinary by small parties, mortally wounded our master carpenter, killed a private sentinel, and wounded an officer in the Scotch regiment, with six or seven more private sentinels, all within our wall at Pole Fort. Howbeit, in my opinion, our loss is not so much as in great probability it would be should we take the field; and whilst we can prosecute the carrying on our works in Pole Fort without

impediment, and the enemy gives us no more provocation by their proceedings, I see no reason for their marching out.

“Friday, Oct. 1.—This day we hold our method of working at Pole Fort as formerly. Though we were of opinion they would hardly make use of their new battery, by reason of its lying so nigh exposed to our shot at Pole Fort, yet this day we find they are resolved to put it in execution, making several shot with their great guns from thence at Pole Fort without any effect. Several balls grazing short, and coming into the town, fell there likewise without doing us the least damage. The enemy plied also their other batteries near Fort Charles, from whence they killed us one man, and ill-wounded another. With their small shot, likewise, they killed us a private soldier, and wounded us five or six more.

“Saturday, Oct. 2.—We continue vigorously to prosecute our fortifications at Pole Fort without taking the field, according to our former practice, hoping in a few days to have it cannon-proof in all quarters where we

conceive the enemy may molest us from their batteries, which were silent all this day. It is to be presumed they received some damage at their battery from our small shot from Pole Fort, from whence our people continually plied them. This evening happened a very ill accident. Our commander-in-chief, Sir Palmer Fairborne, Admiral Herbert, Colonel Sackville, Major Hackett, myself, and sundry other officers being present on the battery at Peterborough Tower, from whence we were endeavouring to gall the enemy with our cannon at their new battery, at which we made several very good shots ; at length one of our guns (a fortified whole culvering) brake in pieces in the midst of us, killing two men outright, and wounding seven or eight more, whereof some mortally. Captain Fitzpatrick received a very ill hurt in his groin ; another officer had his arm break ; receiving myself a hurt on the leg, which, I thank God, is not dangerous. God be thanked, our commander-in-chief and the rest of the principal officers that were present escaped miraculously without hurt, though all equally exposed.

“Sunday, Oct. 3.—This morning we discovered the enemy at work upon the sand-hills in several places, which they soon gave us to understand were lodgments for their cannon, from whence they fired at the shipping in our port, with little or no effect. Also several of their shot came from their other batteries into town, without doing us the least damage. They are so ill gunners, and so tedious in their firing, and I presume so ill provided in proper stores for that service, that we have conceived but a very slender opinion of their power to hurt us this way. They have likewise drawn down a line from the declining of the sand-hills, which looks towards the admiral's party, on whom they fired briskly all the day, wounding three or four of his men. We had this day an officer of the Scotch regiment wounded at Pole Fort, and one private sentinel killed. We continue to work night and day on our new fortifications, and trust in a few days to be in very good security against all attempts.”

In this manner the journal proceeds, giving an account of the transactions of each day as

it came, and of which it is unnecessary to say more than that very little is described that would repay me for the trouble of transcription, or my readers for that of perusal. Both sides acted cautiously for a time ; the English being content to push forward the works at Pole Fort, the Moors striving to interrupt them only by a distant firing. At last, however, more active operations on the part of the besieged were determined upon ; with the commencement of which I resume the thread of my history.

“ Sunday, 24.—From the 7th to this day,” (says Mr. Shore,) “ being Sunday, there was little or no action ; the enemy, howbeit, approaching our new works by numerous trenches on all sides, they seeming to have received encouragement in their progress, through our not marching out to possess the outposts, according to our former practice, which was not done for the reasons already mentioned. In the interval, likewise, two hundred Spanish horse arrived, and we with all possible diligence prosecuted our countermine, batteries, and other works within Pole Fort ; also a new and strong

line of communication betwixt the town and it, enlarging the stockade before Catherine Fort, for the more commodious drawing up of our men, and fortifying that post. Colonel Talmash was likewise employed to treat with the alcade of Tituan, (who in the absence of the other commands in the field,) touching a cessation of arms till his majesty's ambassador (who is daily expected) shall arrive. But the alcade declaring he had a power of the king to treat of a peace, seemed to incline rather to treat. Accordingly Colonel Talmash was furnished with propositions, which were debated and adjusted by a council of war; but, upon mentioning liberty to prosecute our fortifications at Pole Fort, the alcade fell into so great a passion, that the treaty brake off abruptly. This morning, about seven of the clock, Sir Palmer Fairborne, our commander-in-chief, who had all along demeaned himself with the prudence and bravery as became a man of his post and special abilities for the service, was, from a line of the enemy, unfortunately shot in the body as he was giving directions for breaking of ground on a little eminence to the

left of the spur, near Peterborough Tower: by which work he designed to amuse the enemy, by putting them in apprehension we intended something extraordinary on that ground, where indeed they expected we would make our first attempt. This misfortune we permitted not to hinder our proceedings; but accordingly, after the engineer had traced out the works, our people fell to breaking of ground, being sustained by about fifty Spanish horse and about one hundred and fifty foot. But whether the enemy took encouragement by the fall of Sir Palmer, or out of contempt of the small guard that was drawn out, they made a very bold sally out of their old trenches, by which they had environed Fort Charles; which the Spanish officer at the head of the horse observing, very bravely charged them, and forced them back into their trenches, pursuing them to their very line, from whence in his retreat they much galled him, killing him both men and horses, and making a second sally with a greater number, some of their horse being come up likewise to reinforce them; which so little discouraged the Spaniards, that they re-

newed their charge, and forced them a second time into their trenches, and returned and drew up upon the ground where they were first posted ; by which time they were reinforced by our English horse and some foot, which the enemy perceiving, thought not fit to attempt anything farther. So we continued our work till we had finished it, and marched off in good order. In this action was killed and wounded eight or ten Spaniards and many horses, a captain in the Scotch regiment mortally wounded, and six or eight private souldiers mortally wounded.

“ Monday, Oct. 25.—This day was perceived the enemy had brought a trench so very near our stockade at Pole Fort, on that side towards Anne Fort, that they had taken encouragement from thence to begin a gallery in order to a mine, the ground being very commodious for that purpose, and had likewise brought their cannon to our old place of arms, which is but pistol-shot from the fort ; which progress and bold proceeding of theirs put Colonel Sackville (who succeeded Sir Palmer in the command) upon calling a council of

war of the principal officers, to consult upon what was fitting to be done, inasmuch as it appeared to us all, that without some extraordinary action our new work would in a very short space be in some distress. In which council of war it was resolved that on Wednesday the 27th, at break of day, we should make a general sally out of the town with the entire strength of the garrison, which, being at present very sickly, would not afford one thousand five hundred fighting men, with the addition of Admiral Herbert's seamen, whose counsel and personal assistance on all occasions of service hath been all along of signal use to his majesty's service.

“ Tuesday, 26. — The day was spent in making all necessary provision for to-morrow's action, an universal diligence and alacrity appearing in all people, which was interpreted a presage of the success which, through God's mercy, ensued.

“ Wednesday, 27.—By three of the clock this morning the garrison was in arms, wherein such care was taken, that as well in drawing together our men, as in their march out of the

town, so great a silence was observed, that although the enemy had had sentinels under our very walls, they could not have taken the least alarm. Our force was disposed into six battalions, whereof one was composed of the seamen, under Admiral Herbert's command. The officers commanding them were Major Halket, Major Boynton, Captain Giles, Captain Bowes, Captain Spott, and Major Barklay; the whole party of foot consisting of about one thousand five hundred men. The horse, being seven troops, amounting to about three hundred, were commanded,—the English by Captain Neatby, Captain Cay, Captain Langston,—the Spanish by Don Salvador de Monforte, Don Manrique de Nannia (who commanded two troops), and Don Fernando Penatolo. To amuse and divert the enemy, the horse belonging to the mole, amounting to about fifty, were ordered, with riders and a trumpet at the head of them, to march to the spur at Peterborough Tower, where was pitched several colours, and had drums appointed to beat a strong alarm, Captain Makenny with the town horse marching at the head of them.

On the other side, in the bay, where the enemy had a battery of eight or nine guns, Admiral Herbert had appointed all the boats of the fleet, with waist clothes and colours, to make show as if they intended to attempt their cannon: both which designs, especially the latter, took very good effect; drawing a good many of the enemy from their trenches, which appeared by their pitching their colours all along the coast, and firing at the boats. Besides the general attack by the parties aforesaid, a particular attack out of Pole Fort was ordered, consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain Lundy and Captain Hume, and who were of the number of the officers that were at that time upon the guard at the fort. This attack was to be upon their nearest trenches, where they had begun a gallery in order to the mining of the fort; in which sally was present myself, not being yet so well in my foot, wherein I received a hurt some time before, as to march with the rest. The horse marched first out of Catherine Fort, and drew up in the stockade just before it. The foot then marched out, and drew up

according to the division of Colonel Edward Sackville, our present commander-in-chief. All which was performed with so great silence, that the whole party was almost drawn up before the enemy took the alarm.

“The disposition of the several divisions, advanced parties, and reserves of both horse and foot, was ordered in the most proper and soldier-like manner the ground would permit, and the several posts to be attacked required. When the party was ready to advance, Colonel Sackville gave the signal to the fort, from whence the attack aforementioned on the enemy's gallery was to be first made; the engineer, Major Brockman, likewise marching out with them, to give fitting directions about demolishing their works and stopping their mine. The attack proved a very hot and bloody piece of service, as well by reason of the enemy's having a greater guard than their ordinary, as through the slow march of the parties that were appointed as our reserve. The two captains which commanded were immediately carried off ill wounded, as were most of the other officers, among which Lieutenant Ro-

binson, a very brave young man ; and had not the reserve come timely to their relief, that party had run a great hazard of being all cut off. By this time the whole party was engaged, the enemy very stubbornly disputing every line and trench wherever we attacked them, coming to push of pike and hand of blows in several parts. The particularities of every action that occurred is hard to set down ; but, after we had beaten them from their new trenches, and were advanced to the old line whereon our forts formerly stood, (which was attained with great loss on our side,) one of the battalions of my Lord Insequin's regiment having not above fifty men left upon the spot ; at length, by levelling the trenches, we made a passage for our horse, (without whose assistance nothing memorable would have been performed,) through which Captain Neatby with his troop advanced upon the enemy, as did likewise Don Salvador de Monforte and Don Manrique de Nannia with theirs, who found a passage a little more to the right ; upon which the enemy turned their backs, and betook themselves to flight from all quarters, being

pursued by both horse and foot, who made very great slaughter amongst them. Many of the horse performed very daringly for the rescue of their foot, amongst which several of their principal men likewise fell. We pursued them, scattered like sheep on the mountains, at least a mile into the country, killing several of them in their very camp among their tents.

“In this action we took two pieces of cannon, five colours, several prisoners alive, and had taken many more had they not refused quarter, and killed them, in computation near 500 men. Colonel Sackville, who had the honour and good fortune to conduct in this action, performed the part of a very brave and prudent officer; shunning no hazard where his duty called, and omitting nothing that became the wisdom of a general officer. After our horse and foot were retreated within our own line (which we possessed from James to Monmouth Fort), we fell to filling and levelling their trenches, where we buried many of their dead, who very bravely fell in the defence of them. We also took in an advantageous spot of ground to our own fortification, which we

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fortified with a grand stockade, from whence we discover the bottom where the enemy before lay in covert from the fort, and where they had begun their gallery in order to their mine, which about three of the clock was finished ; and then we retreated and marched into the town in very good order, the enemy, contrary to their custom, permitting us to retire without any dispute."

CHAPTER V.

Which shows how this War came to an end.

THE journal from which I have made this long extract goes on to say, "Sir Palmer Fairborne, poor gentleman! lived to hear the relation of our service, at which he gave great marks of satisfaction." He did so; but his expressions of delight were like the last flash of an expiring taper, for he died the same day. He was succeeded in his office by the gentleman who had so well planned and carried into execution the sortie just described,—a gallant soldier as ever buckled on sword, and a thorough-paced jobber. The first act of the new governor had about it an air of clemency, which even on the Moors produced some effect. He gave them leave to bury their dead, and caused his own people to collect together and

hand to them across the line of demarcation upwards of forty bodies. Of these all were headless, for it formed a remarkable feature in this savage warfare that by both parties the dead were mutilated; by the Moors in accordance with their usual habits, by the English out of revenge. It appears, moreover, that of the forty who perished in defence of the advanced works, a large proportion were men of rank; at least, Mr. Shore describes the Moorish soldiers as wrapping up their heads in fine linen, and carrying them off with every demonstration of sorrow.

The effect produced upon the enemy by the results of this action was such as, if rightly improved, might have fully re-established the affairs of the English; but unfortunately it was not improved. Colonel Sackville, indeed, accepted a proffered truce on terms sufficiently advantageous to himself, which the sickly state of the garrison, in consequence of a long disuse of fresh provisions, rendered necessary. But whatever the valour of the warrior had gained, the improvidence of the diplomatist cast from him. An ambassador

from the King of England to the Emperor of Morocco had long been expected; and he came at last in the person of Sir James Leslie, a gentleman who, without being deficient in talent, seems to have grievously fallen short in the qualities of temper and discretion. This personage, with whom it rested either to confirm or abrogate the truce, refused to adopt the one course, yet abstained from venturing upon the other. Like all who cannot go straight to their object, he hoped to win by finesse what he despaired of obtaining openly; and so, without alluding to the right of fortifying, demanded from the Moor an accession of territory. The answer of the Moor was characteristic. "I would as soon part with my religion as with a plot of ground on which the Christians might build forts." Nor was this all. The English ambassador having ventured a demand which he lacked either hardihood or authority to enforce, ceased to take the high ground in the negociation; and a peace was concluded at last, in every respect unworthy of acceptance by men who in war had acquired so decided a superiority.

Out of this treaty arose a disagreement between Colonel Sackville and Sir James Leslie, which led to the recall of the former. He was succeeded by Colonel Kirke, who soon found that his situation was not an enviable one, inasmuch as he must either maintain the peace at the expense of his own honour and that of his country, or renew the war, and so incur the censure of his own government; for not only was he prohibited from fortifying the ground which his predecessor had won so gallantly, but he was subjected to humiliations much more galling than any to which others had submitted. The payment of a sort of tribute in gunpowder, cloth, and muskets, is not to be ranked in this class: that could scarcely be said to jar against men's feelings; for it had been paid from the outset, and was balanced by a free market and other conveniences. But when he found it settled, that the garrison should not presume to assist even an English vessel in distress, unless she came ashore within gunshot of the walls, and that not so much as the recreation of walking into the country was to be enjoyed by indi-

viduals, except under Moorish surveillance, his spirit boiled within him ; and he was not sorry when the Moors, with their accustomed absence of good faith, began to encroach on their own stipulations. Still there was a strong hand upon him ; and he did not venture, on grounds less secure than an act of positive aggression, to renew a war which had become avowedly unpopular with the king's government.

Colonel Kirke administered the affairs of Tangier about fourteen months, throughout the whole of which the worst feeling prevailed on both sides, though the sword was kept in the scabbard. The Moors, who had promised to set their Christian captives at liberty, demanded without scruple a large advance in the ransom ; while Kirke gave an asylum to more than one man of rank, who fled from the vengeance of the emperor. Among others, the nephew of Ishmael sought shelter in Tangier, and neither threats nor remonstrances availed to obtain his surrender. Unfortunately, however, for his own renown, Colonel Kirke was prevailed upon to yield to political considerations that which apprehensions of danger

never could have wrung from him. In the hope of winning from the emperor the fulfilment of his pledge relative to the Christian slaves, he gave up the young man to his fate ; without exacting any other security for his life itself, than a promise that no violence would be offered to it. It does not appear how far this promise was or was not regarded ; but it is certain that to the English settlers no benefits accrued from the act by which it was purchased.

It is not worth while to describe the endless intrigues which were all this while carried on both in Tangier and elsewhere. Spies and traitors gave what information they could to both parties, and each threatened and maligned the other as a fitting opportunity seemed to offer, but no important results ensued. Meanwhile, within the colony itself, subject to almost all the evils without the excitement of a state of war, disunion and jealousy largely prevailed. The governor accused the corporation of being turbulent and seditious, the corporation charged him with tyranny and oppression, while both stood equally open to

the suspicion of sacrificing the public good on all occasions to their private advantage. These recriminatory charges were not without their effect in hastening forward a determination which must, as the case stood, have been sooner or later come to ; for the parliament would grant no more supplies, and the king's exchequer was empty. It was now that the courtiers began to doubt whether their master's honour was at all engaged in the maintenance of so worthless a colony ; the mercantile classes likewise discovered that to them it was of no value ; and the common people exclaimed against it as the grave of their countrymen. Under such circumstances it was determined to evacuate Tangier altogether, care being taken so to manage the affair as that it might seem to be the result of an entreaty on the part of the individuals who had established themselves as colonists in the place. Now this was a difficult card to play,—at least, so it was believed to be in London ; and a skilful tactician was nominated to play it, in whose hands it proved both safe and easy. Having written frequent

letters to Colonel Kirke, from which no other inference could be drawn than that the sole object of his coming was to put the town in a thorough state of repair, Lord Dartmouth sailed from Portsmouth at the head of a numerous fleet. He reached Tangier fully impressed with a persuasion that the king's counsels had been kept ;—his first interview with the authorities there showed him that the case was not so. Not only to the people of Tangier, but to the Moors without the walls, it was known that the colony was about to be abandoned ; and both were on the alert, the one to secure their own safety, the other to take advantage of whatever confusion might occur in the conduct of so weighty an affair. Lord Dartmouth expressed his surprise at all this in his despatches to the chief secretary ; as a man of the world he might have known, that such state secrets cannot well be kept in a free country like England.

The new governor's instructions directed him not only to abandon, but to ruin the colony utterly ; by demolishing the mole, on which prodigious sums of money had been ex-

pended, and levelling the fortifications with the earth. He called a meeting of the principal inhabitants on the 4th of September 1683, and made known to them his design ; yet he so represented matters as still to keep up the semblance of a strong disinclination on the part of the king to adopt so disastrous an expedient. He proposed that committees should be formed for inspecting the works, and making an estimate of the charges necessary to complete them ; and he actually employed on this business men who could not but be aware that the whole was a farce of the first magnitude. In like manner he judged it expedient to overawe the Moors, who had come down in great force to the vicinity of the town, by admitting the king to an interview at a moment when he had not fewer than four thousand men under arms. In both cases his policy was successful. The Moors withdrew, thoroughly convinced that this was not the season to break with the English ; while the burghers found that to render the town convenient, or even habitable, an outlay of nearly five millions sterling would be necessary. Now, who

was to advance this ? The king could not ; the parliament would not. Either, therefore, they must be content to hold on, at the risk of becoming slaves to the Moors when their slender resources failed them, or they must petition government to be withdrawn. They adopted the latter expedient. All their valuables were registered and carried off; the families passed in succession on board of ship ; the Portuguese bishop and clergy, who had sojourned among them throughout, departed to their own land ; and on the 5th of November the town was emptied, except of soldiers. By and by the outworks were one by one blown up ; and, last of all, the city itself became a heap of ruins. I cannot better describe the catastrophe, than in the words of an eye-witness. A Mr. Frowd, writing to his brother from Cadiz, on the 10th of February, 1684, thus expresses himself:

“ This serves only to acquaint you that on the 5th instant, about twelve of the clock at night, my Lord Dartmouth quitted Tangier, having first levelled it with the earth. There are none of the walls standing, except some of

the bottom of Peterborough Tower, which did not blow up; there being fifty or sixty barrels of powder under it which did not take fire. My lord is very well; and the garrison came off without the least molestation, though the Moors were by in the evening, and saw the walls blown up. There was one of the batteries which did not take fire so soon as was expected, which the Moors were advised of by my lord; but they gave no heed to it, but came into the town, and after it blew up, and killed eight Moors."

Such was the memorable war of Tangier, of which I have judged it expedient to give an account,—not only because there exists not, as far as I know, any thing of the kind elsewhere; but because out of it, as has already been stated, arose the foundation of Chelsea Hospital. For it was the return of this army, and its subsequent reduction, that forced upon the king the necessity of doing something for his decayed soldiers, many of whom wandered about the streets of London maimed and peniless. And the books of the establishment still retain the names of several who received

their hurts, and established their claims, in Africa. Therefore I conclude this tradition by giving the following extract:

“Richard Stanley, of my Lord Dumbarton’s regiment, lost a leg at Tangier.—Admitted 16th of June, 1690.”

A TRADITION OF
MARLBOROUGH'S WARS.

WILLIAM ROUGH'S WARS

CHAPTER I

pointing the relative positions of two belligerent parties
fore they begin to fight.

The thirty years that followed the death
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A TRADITION OF
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CHAPTER I.

Showing the relative positions of two belligerent parties before they begin to fight.

THE thirty years that followed the demise of Charles the Second, added very much, as every reader of history is aware, to what would now be called the *dead weight* upon the resources of the country. James's short and unhappy reign proved, indeed, peaceable enough; but those of William and Anne passed amid a constant succession of wars and revolutions, the necessary consequences of that great political movement which interrupted, for a time, the line of regular succession to the British throne. It happens singularly enough, that, from the records of Chelsea Hospital, a register of entries during the reign of William the Third is wanting. However interesting, therefore, the military operations of that period may have

been, I am debarred from describing them ; inasmuch as by no visible link can they be connected with the Hospital, or its traditions. But of Queen Anne's worn-out soldiers, multitudes found an asylum in the place ; of whom some had served with Marlborough in Flanders and Germany, some in Spain with Peterborough and Stanhope, and some in the intestine struggle which, during the years 1715 and 1716, threw both England and Scotland into alarm. It is not very easy to deal with subjects already so often and so fully handled, more especially as there exist few traces of what may be called personal adventure wherewith to enliven my details. Still the nature of my subject seems to impose the task upon me, and I must endeavour to go through with it as lightly as may be consistent with a due regard to the truth of history.

I find the following in the book of entries for the year 1715-16.

“ 4 February.—Orkneys regiment,—Robert Chambers wounded in the belly at Hockstedt.”

Who this Robert Chambers was, — where born,—how added to the strength of the Eng-

lish army, or by what acts of valour distinguished, I cannot tell. Of an individual so humble not a legend has survived; for the brave heart, and the strong arm,—ay! and the generous spirit too,—must be content, if tied down to a lowly state in society, to be forgotten almost as soon as they cease to play their parts among men. But the campaign which ensured to this individual his right of admission within the walls of Chelsea Hospital was by far the most remarkable of that remarkable period, and I am therefore tempted to describe it, even at the risk of going over ground with which few that take an interest in their country's glory can be absolutely unacquainted. I entreat my readers, however, not to be alarmed: I am not going to draw upon the resources of my own imagination; neither is it my design to follow implicitly in the path which others have trodden. On the contrary, I shall endeavour to use, as far as I find them applicable, the materials which the leader of the campaign himself supplies, and to an examination of which the kindness of the noble lord, his Majesty's secretary for the home de-

partment, has given me access. The battle of Hockstedt, or Blenheim, was, beyond all question, the most decisive affair in which, till the day of Waterloo, a modern English army had been engaged; and, never, except in the case of Waterloo, has the victor in a mighty field described his own successes in terms more modest and unpretending.

The campaign of 1703 had ended upon the whole disadvantageously to the allied arms. In Italy the French were everywhere victorious, and the Duke of Savoy, now an adherent to the league, was reduced to the brink of ruin. In Germany, the Elector of Bavaria was master of Ratisbon, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, and Gravenbach, which commanded the country between the Iller and the Inn; of Augsburg, which afforded a passage over the Lech; of Ulm, into which he had thrown a strong garrison; and of Paussau and Lintz, the two keys of Upper Austria. Meanwhile his field force, which, including Marshal Marsin's corps, came up to forty thousand men, occupied quarters in the vicinity of Ulm, whence a communication both with the French on the

Rhine, and with the rebels of Hungary, could be opened; and from which he was prepared, as soon as the season of the year would permit, to penetrate through the defiles at the sources of the Danube, and threaten Vienna. To support him in this grand undertaking, Louis the Fourteenth seemed willing to expend freely both the blood and the treasure of France. Marshal Tallard, with forty-five thousand men, occupied such a position on the Upper Rhine as enabled him to threaten at once the circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, and open out a passage for himself into Bavaria. From the side of Italy, too, the empire lay totally exposed, for the Tyrol was denuded of troops, and the whole country between Dauphiné and the Cottian Alps was well nigh bare; while the Duke of Savoy, ill able to defend himself, was quite incapable of effecting a diversion in favour of others. On the other hand, there seemed to be neither energy in the Emperor's counsels, nor vigour in the parties whom he had appointed to carry them into effect. Twenty thousand men, under Prince Louis of Baden, constituted very nearly the

total amount of disposable forces on which he could rely. Militia and armed peasantry were the defenders of the passes of the Black Forest, supported by a few battalions under General Sturm. Twelve battalions of Dutch were at Rothweil, to cover, as far as they could, Wirtemberg; and some Hessians and Prussians were extended along the edges of the Rhine below Philipsburg. But these could not offer any effectual opposition to a combined movement of French and Bavarians, which was all that seemed necessary to reduce the Emperor to submission. Though, therefore, Marlborough had won many fortresses, and established a secure and defensible barrier on the side of Flanders, and though the King of Portugal, declaring himself at last, had opened his ports, and promised his soldiers to Charles of Austria, the result of the war at the close of 1703 was not favourable to the allies. It remained for the consummate genius of Marlborough, and the valour of his troops, to give a different aspect to the face of affairs; and it is my business to tell how that great end was accomplished.

Prince Eugene, in his Memoirs of himself, seems to claim the merit of having been the first who suggested the march of the Anglo-Dutch army from the Maese to the Danube. The same assertion is hazarded by the French biographer of Marlborough ; at least the writer says, “ Prince Eugene, at this crisis, advised the Austrian Emperor to implore the assistance of the Queen of England.” But from other and more authentic documents I collect that the assumption is groundless. To the capacious mind of the British general the project appears to have occurred so early as the month of October 1703 ; whereas Count Wratislaw, the envoy extraordinary from Vienna, did not reach London till the 2nd of April 1704. But the design was a great deal too gigantic, as well as too delicate in its nature, to be entrusted to many confidants. Even to Godolphin, Marlborough opened out his views only in part ; who, again, took partially into his confidence only the Queen and Prince George of Denmark ; while the rest of the cabinet were urged to nothing more than increased exertions in forwarding the business

of recruiting, and obtaining from the parliament such funds as might be requisite for the services of the coming year. The ministry were not slothful in forwarding this matter ; so that the commons not only voted an increase of ten thousand men to the army in the Netherlands, but agreed to furnish liberal subsidies both to the Portuguese monarch and the Duke of Savoy.

Whenever we are tempted to speak disparagingly of the Dutch authorities at this period, we should be very careful to except from our censure the pensionary Heinsius. He was from first to last the friend and supporter of Marlborough ; and when the latter passed over to the Hague in January 1704, he lent all the weight of his influence to win from the States the adoption of whatever measures the English might suggest. Even to Heinsius, however, there is reason to believe that Marlborough did not entirely unbosom himself. He spoke, indeed, of the necessity of saving the empire at all hazards, and hinted at the possible transference of the seat of war from the country of the Maese to some theatre more

remote : but he did not explain himself fully ; while to the States nothing more was communicated than a proposition to act from the Moselle with the British and auxiliary troops, while Overkerke, their own commander, should maintain the defensive in the Netherlands. It was well for Marlborough that he exercised this prudent reserve ; for not without the greatest difficulty were the States prevailed upon to assent to this, or to grant to the Prince of Baden a supply of two hundred thousand crowns, without which it would have been impossible for him any longer to keep the field.

Such were the consequences of Marlborough's visit to Holland in January, which had this beneficial result in addition, that the King of Prussia, who had begun to waver, was confirmed in his good faith, while the Elector Palatine received a portion of the arrears which were due to him. Neither was this other Wellington inattentive to matters of apparently minute importance, when entrusted with the management of cabinets, and the bending of princes and nobles to his own purposes. He had been required to detach some

thousand British troops to Portugal, which circumstances had heretofore prevented him from attending to. He now exerted himself to remove these obstacles, and reviewed and saw on board of ship a force which left him by so much the less able to accomplish the design which he had in view. For, however open to censure in other respects, Marlborough possessed one quality which is essential to a really great mind : he was not to be cast down by difficulties ; and, being engaged heart and soul in the war with France, he was willing to sacrifice himself, should less sacrifices prove inadequate, rather than forego to his country the assurance of success in the struggle. He then returned to England, where changes in the constitution of the cabinet soon afterwards occurred, every way favourable to the advancement of his wishes. Harley became secretary of state in the room of Lord Nottingham ; the Earl of Kent succeeded Lord Jersey as chamberlain ; Sir Edward Seymour gave place to Mr. Mansel in the office of comptroller-general ; and Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was appointed secretary at

war. From all of these ministers he received for a time the steadiest support; and the business of raising recruits and providing stores went forward throughout the country with the greatest alacrity and effect.

All this while, Prince Eugene and the Duke were in close and constant correspondence; and the Prince's letters show, that to him, and to him alone, the Duke made a full disclosure of his intentions for the ensuing campaign. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the *plan* of the campaign was, at this early period, arranged. That, like all other plans of campaign, underwent frequent modifications during the progress of hostilities; so that, unless the settlement of the one point, that Marlborough should march upon the Danube, be regarded as the arrangement of a plan, no such arrangement took place. But the two chiefs fully understood one another, and soon began to prepare for such a series of co-operative movements as might either bring them into connexion, or enable them to destroy in detail the armies by which the capital of the empire was threatened. It was in consequence of

this understanding that the Emperor was induced to write the letter to which Prince Eugene, in his Memoirs, alludes; and that Count Wratislaw came as an ambassador extraordinary to the court of London. Nor was the application made in vain. Without betraying his own secret, Marlborough so far turned the circumstance to account, that on the 4th of April he obtained from the cabinet a letter of general instructions, which directed him to repair to Holland and consult with the States as to the best means of relieving the Emperor, and reducing the Elector of Bavaria. He desired no more. Holding at nought the factious outcry of the Jacobites, who exclaimed against the extravagance of offensive wars, Marlborough proceeded to Harwich, where, accompanied by his brother, the Earl of Orkney and other officers of rank, he embarked.

The 21st of April saw the English general at the Hague; the 22nd found him busy with the pensionary and his friends in making arrangements for a speedy conference with the States. The conference took place on the 2nd of May, and proved

upon the whole a stormy one ; for the States had their own scheme as well as he, and it was purely selfish. “ The measures they are willing to take here,” says Marlborough, in a letter to Lord Godolphin, “ for the campaign, in my opinion, are very wrong ; for they would have an army on the Moselle of only fifteen thousand men, and the rest in Flanders, without any design but that of taking such advantage as the enemy should give.” By dint, however, of strong reasoning, aided by a threat of withdrawing the English contingent altogether, he at length prevailed upon them to consent that he should move upon Coblenz with forty thousand men, and make the Moselle the base of his future operations. By these means he calculated upon delivering himself in some sort from the restraint which the presence of the field deputies had heretofore imposed upon him ; though he still kept his secret, except from Godolphin, to whom an outline of what was passing through his own mind was now at length communicated. “ My intentions,” says he, “ are to march all the English to Coblenz, and to declare here that

I intend to command on the Moselle ; but, when I come there, to write to the States that I think it absolutely necessary for saving the empire to march with the troops under my command, and to join those in Germany that are in her Majesty's and the Dutch pay, in order to take measures with Prince Louis for the speedy reducing of the Elector of Bavaria. If I should act in any other manner than what I now tell you, my design would be immediately known to the French, and these people would never consent to let so many troops go so far from their frontier."

In this manner the preliminary difficulties that beset his great undertaking were overcome. The States, deceived to their own profit, beheld him set out on the 5th of May to put himself at the head of forty-six battalions and sixty squadrons, fully persuaded that the most remote point from which he could venture to act was Coblentz. "I reckon," he says, "to be with the English troops at Mentz on the 6th of June, this style ; and to join the Hessians and Lunenburgers about Philipsburg, and then to take

my measures for joining the twelve battalions of the Dutch that are on the Danube. I have it also in my power to have the seven thousand Palatines and four thousand Wirtembergers that are paid by the Dutch. Before I come to Coblentz, I intend to send an officer to Prince Louis of Baden, to concert such measures as may enable us to act as soon as I shall come on the Rhine. I shall also send to Prince Eugene, who is to command on the Danube. I think the States have given me sufficient power to act all this without acquainting them with the particulars. In the conference I had yesterday with them, they assured me they should be satisfied with whatever I should think right for the public service." Not, however, without having personally superintended the embarkation in barges of his stores and cannon, did Marlborough quit the Hague. He saw provisions shipped on the Rhine for Coblentz, and everything else in train that seemed necessary to the formation there of a complete magazine; while several bodies of recruits, which had recently come from England, were all marched

off towards the general rendezvous, after having been minutely inspected and carefully provided with equipments requisite for the campaign. This done, he departed.

The 10th of May, Marlborough was at Maestricht, where he passed a large portion of the Dutch army in review. He then put his different columns in motion, but delayed himself in the town till the 16th. This interval was occupied chiefly in directing the formation of a bridge over the Meuse,—in communicating the final instructions to the officers commanding at Mentz, Rothweil, and other distant parts, — in bringing up the arrears of his correspondence with London,—and in settling the amount of garrison that would be needed to hold the town, and keep open his communications. Six British regiments of infantry, chiefly fresh arrivals from home were, with four squadrons of cavalry, allotted to this service ; after which, it being now the 16th, he resumed his progress. On the 18th, he was at Friburg, the place of general rendezvous, where his brother Churchill, with sixteen thousand English, was waiting him ;

and he found that, over and above the forces which he proposed to pick up by the way, he was at the head of fifty-one battalions and ninety-two squadrons.

The movements of the allied armies had not been overlooked by the French, who began both to experience and to display excessive jealousy. They believed that Marlborough was going to reduce Treerbach, and penetrate along the course of the Moselle into France ; and they endeavoured to alarm him for his rear by giving out that Huy was about to be besieged. But Marlborough paid to this threat as little regard as he did to a pressing message from Overkerke, imploring him to return. He knew that the French had greatly weakened their army on the Meuse, and were turning all their attention to other quarters, with a view of co-operating with the Elector of Bavaria in his grand push upon Vienna ; and he rated at their just value the demonstrations which Villaroy might be induced to make from his head-quarters at Namur. It was more alarming to be told, as he now was, both by Prince Louis and Count Wratislaw, that Tallard

was preparing to cross the Rhine, and that the position at Stolhoffen was in danger. Still he never wavered in his purpose of interposing himself between the Elector and his prey, though he so far yielded to the fears of the Margrave as to direct the troops of Hompesch and Bulow to draw towards Philipsburg. He himself kept his course unruffled. Accordingly we find him on the 19th at Kalsecken, in close correspondence with the States, to whom at length he judged it expedient to disclose his plan of operations.

Marlborough's letters from this point are very curious, and would well repay the trouble of perusal, but they are foreign from the design of this my present sketch. I must be content, therefore, to state, that they describe the attention of the enemy as riveted almost exclusively upon the English army, and the extreme improbability there was, that they, while fearing for their own country, would think of carrying on active hostilities in the Netherlands. At the same time the writer shows that Villaroy will probably move upon the Moselle; and argues that, so far from re-

quiring a portion of his army back, Overkerke should be directed to detach to his support, in order to hinder him from being overwhelmed by superior numbers. The anticipations which he had formed — for such, when he wrote, they were — furnish ample proof of the Duke's singular foresight and military sagacity. So confident was the French government that the English would burst in upon them from the Moselle, that they directed either Villaroy to march in person, or to detach twenty-five thousand men to that river; and the march was actually begun, and carried far towards its accomplishment, ere the real point of danger became known.

The Duke continued to press his troops forward, making them pass by Merkheim and Senzeg, towards Coblenz. He reached the latter city with his cavalry on the 25th; and such was the effect of his coming, that the Elector of Bavaria suspended his movement on Vienna, not knowing what to anticipate. Still there were portions of the general plan of campaign which had not been rightly attended to. Prince Louis of Baden

had not only failed to strike at the Bavarians when an opportunity of all others the most favourable presented itself, but M. Tallard by his superior address had baffled the defenders of the Black Forest, and joined the Electoral camp with such a reinforcement as rendered it unsafe for Prince Louis to risk a battle. It will be necessary to a right understanding of what is to follow, that I should explain how these things came to pass.

CHAPTER II.

Showing how easy it is for a great man to bamboozle his inferiors.

IN describing the relative positions of the contending parties at the close of the campaign of 1703, I stated that the Elector of Bavaria, to whose army a French contingent under Marshal Marsin was added, occupied an encampment near Ulm. His communications with France were, however, very uncertain; for the Rhine, guarded by some Hessians and Dutch troops, separated him from Tallard in one direction; and the passes of the Black Forest, blocked up with entrenchments, were between him and his allies in another. It was the business of the French to establish these communications; it was the business of the allies to hinder them from

being established ; and each party manœuvred to gain its own end, and to frustrate that of its rival. The Imperialists, as has elsewhere been shown, had intrusted the keeping of the difficult country between the Danube and the Lake of Constance chiefly to corps of militia. These were, indeed, supported by the fortified position of Stollhoffen ; while such pains had been taken in adding to the natural difficulties of the roads, that all, except that of St. Pierre, were impracticable. Moreover, the passage of St. Pierre led under the very guns of Friburg, so that Prince Louis was perhaps justified in regarding himself as tolerably secure so long as a proper degree of vigilance should be exercised by the officers under him. But Prince Louis was opposed to a far more skilful tactician than himself. To carry the war to the gates of Vienna, was with the King of France an object of the first importance ; and Tallard received orders to force his way through every obstacle, in order that there might be at the disposal of Marsin and the Elector troops enough to

remove all his misgivings in entering upon so bold an enterprise.

Tallard no sooner received his instructions than he applied all the resources of his active mind to the task of fulfilling them. He gave out that he intended to march through a portion of the Helvetic territory by the route of the Red House ; and felt assured that his scheme had succeeded, when the Swiss began to protest violently against so gross a breach of their neutrality. He fostered the delusion by assuring the deputies, in reply, that the utmost discipline would be preserved by his columns while in march ; and thus induced the Imperialists to draw off largely from the other passes, in order to secure that of the Red House. This done, he alarmed Prince Louis from the side of Alsace, by making preparations at Landau, as if it were intended to throw a bridge across the Rhine and take Stolhoffen in reverse ; while at the same time he began to rase the fortifications of Neubourg, avowing openly that his plans were changed, and that he could no longer hope, in the

face of such insurmountable obstacles, to accomplish his proposed junction with the Elector. Projects so contradictory had the effect of embarrassing all except Prince Louis, who believed that he fully understood the French marshal's intentions; and, in order to strengthen his own position, called in from the defiles most of the troops that guarded them. Tallard desired nothing more. He made several suspicious movements, bringing up a battery of heavy cannon, and otherwise conducting himself as if he meant after all to force the lines; and then suddenly marching up the stream, arrived in Risach on the 13th of May, at the head of thirty-two battalions and a hundred squadrons. Simultaneously with this movement was the march of a corps d'armée from the Moselle, under M. de Coigny, which took up its quarters in Rheinau; and both columns passing the Rhine unopposed, united on the 14th in the plain of St. George, not far from Friburg.

Tallard had so far executed his purpose well. The Rhine was crossed, and there lay between him and the Elector of Bavaria no

obstacle more difficult to surmount than the rugged and mountainous, though ill-guarded passes of the Schwartzwald in Swabia. These he immediately reconnoitred; and, pressing into his service large bodies of the country people, he so enlarged and improved the roads, that ere Prince Louis had recovered from his surprise, or General Thungen taken the alarm, he occupied a camp on the heights of Torner. Meanwhile, the Elector of Bavaria, advertised of his designs, had advanced to Donaneschingen, bringing with him the whole of Marsin's corps, and of his own, as many as swelled his total force to thirty-five thousand men. It was while he held this insecure position, that Prince Louis hindered a blow from being struck, which, had it taken effect, would have prevented the necessity of those evolutions which ended in the great battle of Hockstedt. General Thungen was at Rothweil with five-and-twenty thousand men. There joined him here, on the 14th of May, four battalions of infantry, and three regiments of the cavalry of Wirtemberg; while the Margrave of Bareith and Count Sturm

both came in on the 15th, bringing with them twelve thousand of their own troops, besides a considerable body of Prussians. The chiefs determined to give the Elector battle; and would have carried their decree into execution had they not been restrained by an order from Prince Louis, which prohibited them from quitting their ground till he should have joined them. I need not describe in detail what followed. The Elector drew off within musket-shot of the allies, and passed them by the left under a cannonade. He marched by Hesengen and Furtsenburg as far as Eigen; while Prince Louis, separated from him by the Danube and a deep marsh, was compelled to make a long detour in order to come up with his own people, and make ready for fighting. Meantime Tallard's reinforcement joined the Bavarian camp, and all to which the Elector henceforth looked, was to thread back his steps to the position at Ulm. In that too he succeeded; for Prince Louis, leaving the pass of Stockach open, the Bavarians seized and occupied its gorge with a strong rear-guard, between which and the advance of

the allies some skirmishing took place, while the main body passed through.

Opportunities such as that which Prince Louis had permitted to elude him do not occur more than once in the same campaign ; and the Prince appeared to feel this. He retraced his steps to Rudleigen ; while Prince Eugene, now war-minister to the Emperor, after delivering Vienna from an incursion of Hungarian plunderers, hastened to take command of such forces as could be brought together into the entrenched camp at Behel. But it is to Marlborough's proceedings that we must henceforth exclusively look ; for, though neither ignorant of the blunders committed by his friends, nor underrating the strength of his enemies, he continued to act upon his own plan with a degree of firmness and intrepidity which could hardly fail of ensuring success. Not yet, however, were the French aware that the Danube was his object. On the contrary, finding that he had turned aside from the Moselle, they became jealous for Alsace, and moved, both Villaroy and Tallard, towards Landau ; an operation which he encouraged by causing the go-

vernor of Philipsburg to prepare boats and other materials for a bridge. This done, he crossed in rapid succession both the Maine and the Neckar, the latter twice; the first time at Ladenburg, the last time at Lauffen; and picking up as he proceeded various corps of auxiliaries, he gradually placed himself in such a position as to defy the utmost activity on the enemy's part to come between him and the accomplishment of his object. That object was to relieve the Austrian territories by carrying the war into the heart of Bavaria; and to compel the Elector to a peace, either by defeating him in a pitched battle, or by wresting from him the whole of his dominions.

At Mendelsheim, a day's march beyond Lauffen, Marlborough and Eugene first met. The latter had quitted his camp in order to visit and concert matters with his rival in glory, and the two greatest warriors of the age conversed as men are apt to do who hold each other's talents in the highest respect, and are engaged in the furtherance of a common enterprise. A review of the English army took place on the 11th, which greatly delighted

the prince; and on the following day Prince Louis likewise joined them. Meanwhile the columns, necessarily scattered in so long a march, were closing up, while means were taken to reinforce the army of observation on the Rhine, at the head of which Marlborough laboured, though without effect, to prevail upon the Prince of Baden to place himself. The prince preferred commanding on the Danube, where there was a prospect of being engaged in brilliant operations; and Marlborough and Eugene, albeit greatly mortified, were forced to yield. It was accordingly agreed that Eugene should watch Tallard and Villeroy, and hinder, if possible, their junction with the elector; after which the three generals separated, one repairing to Philipsburgh, one to Westenstoffs, and the other to the completion of plans now drawing fast to maturity.

The army of the allies and that of the elector may now be said to have come into contact; for Marlborough was separated from Prince Louis only by two days' march, and the Bavarians crowded upon the farther bank of the Danube. It seemed, therefore, that to

avoid much longer some decisive blow was impossible. Still Marlborough found himself a good deal annoyed by the habitual indolence of the colleague with whom it had become necessary to act. It was the 22nd of June ere their armies actually joined; an interval of which the elector, now thoroughly alarmed, and anxious for the reinforcements which were promised from France, did not fail to take advantage. About half way between Ingolstadt and Ulm, both in his possession, and strongly garrisoned, stands Donawert, an open town, but covered to the north by a range of formidable heights. These he promptly occupied, and made haste to fortify. He saw so far into Marlborough's designs as to be alarmed for his own states; and he hoped to render the passage of the Danube impossible, by preventing the allies from establishing anywhere throughout its course a base of operations. On the other hand, Marlborough was determined to make himself master of a passage over the river; and he no sooner brought about his junction with Prince Louis than he made haste to carry his point.

It is necessary to observe that by this time both Tallard and Villeroy were in motion, and that Eugene, too weak to oppose them, had sent for reinforcements, which the duke freely gave. They were both marching up the Rhine, and looking for a safe point at which to cross. Perhaps, too, it may not be amiss to add, that there had been some fighting in the Netherlands, which alarmed the Dutch, and redounded little to the credit of their commanders. Yet, to do them justice, the States had assented to the removal of a large portion of their army into Germany, so soon as the Duke of Marlborough made them aware of his designs, and spoke confidently of the result; and if on one occasion their fears had well-nigh gained the mastery, the circumstance is little to be wondered at. But it is time that Marlborough should speak for himself. We are in the month of July; Eugene is marching on the Upper Rhine; the Elector of Bavaria is encamped between Lawingen and Dillingen; with a strong corps under General D'Arco, covering the heights of Schellenberg above Donawert; and Tallard and Villeroy are bom-

barding Villingen, under the idea of operating a diversion in the elector's favour. For the rest, let the reader learn from the highest authority how the campaign was conducted.

CHAPTER III.

Marlborough's despatches.

“ TO THE RIGHT HON. MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

“ Camp Obermergen, July 3, 1704.

“ SIR,—I now acknowledge the favour of your letters of the 6th and 9th post, and am very glad to acquaint you at the same time with the victory we have had over a considerable part of the Elector of Bavaria's troops. Upon my coming on Tuesday with the army to Obermergen, I received advice that the elector had sent a great body of his best troops to reinforce those on the Schellenberg, near Donawert, where they had been fortifying and intrenching themselves for some time; and this being a post of great consequence to the enemy, I resolved to attack it. Accordingly, yesterday, about three in the morning, I marched with a detachment of six thousand

foot, thirty squadrons of horse, and three regiments of imperial grenadiers, leaving the whole army to follow. But the march being long, and the roads difficult, I could not reach the river Werritz till about noon. We immediately used all the diligence we could in laying over the bridges, which being finished about three o'clock, the troops with the artillery marched over, and all things being ready, the attack began about six. We found the enemy very strongly intrenched, and they defended themselves with great obstinacy for an hour and a half, during which there was a continual fire without any intermission. At last the enemy were forced to yield to the bravery of our troops, who made a great slaughter, and possessed themselves of their camp; the Count D'Arco, the elector's general, with other general officers, being obliged to save themselves by swimming over the Danube. We took fifteen pieces of cannon, with their tents, baggage, and ammunition. The latter being under ground, and not discovered by our men, blew up in the night, and did some damage to a squadron of Dutch dragoons. The loss on

our side has been considerable ; but I must refer you to my next for the particulars. Our horse were commanded by Lieutenant-General Lumley, and the foot by the Earl of Orkney and Major-General Withers. The battalion of Guards, the Earl of Orkney's regiment, and Inglesby's, were those that suffered the most.

* * * * * Our troops in general behaved themselves with great gallantry ; and the English in particular have gained a great deal of honour in this action, which is believed to have been the warmest that has been for many years ; the horse and dragoons appointed to sustain the foot, standing within musket-shot of the enemy's trenches the most part of the time."

This was but the first of a series of operations, which for brilliancy and effect have rarely been equalled, — have never been surpassed in the military annals of any country. It was an opening of the greatest promise ; for the force opposed to the English amounted, according to an official return taken with Marshal Arco's baggage, to sixteen battalions of infantry, three squadrons of dragoons, and

eight regiments of cuirassiers, mustering eight hundred men each. Neither did the result disappoint the expectations which such an opening was calculated to excite. Marlborough knew how to improve as well as to gain a victory. On the 5th his whole army was across the Danube ; on the 8th the Leche was forded ; and on the 10th the siege of the castle of Rain was formed. It was a place of some strength, occupied by one thousand men, which it was judged imprudent to leave behind, commanding as it did the direct line by which, in case of any reverse, a retreat must needs be conducted. Accordingly the victor halted before it ; and, as the reader will doubtless prefer to any narrative of mine that he should be instructed in all that followed by the great captain himself, I proceed to make from his despatches such extracts as may tend to throw some additional light both on the battle of Blenheim, and on the movements that preceded it.

“ Camp at Burcheim, 13th July, 1704.

“ SIR,—I now acknowledge the favour of your letters of the 13th and 16th post. We

have made but little progress since my last. The next day we passed the Leche, and have been since waiting the arrival of the great guns from Nuremberg, in order to attack Rain, where there is a garrison of about a thousand men, which it is not thought advisable to leave behind us. Nine twenty-four pounders came up yesterday, and we are hourly expecting three more, so that this night we shall break ground, and hope to have our batteries fixed to-morrow. In the mean time we are repairing the bridges the enemy destroyed on the Leche, and likewise that at Neuburg, and are making another bridge over the Danube, between that place and Donawert.

“Count Velier, general of the Palatine horse, came hither from Prince Eugene to acquaint us that M. de Villeroy and the Mareschal de Tallard are past the Rhine near Strasbourg; and that they give out they are both coming to the succour of the elector, which it is not doubted but one of them at least will attempt. Whereupon, at Prince Eugene’s desire, thirty squadrons of horse will be detached this evening to reinforce him, and enable him the better

to attend the enemy's motions. Seven thousand Swiss have refused to pass the Rhine, so that we do not reckon their two armies to be above forty-five thousand men."

While these military movements were going forward on both sides, the Elector of Bavaria opened a negotiation with the emperor,—whether in sincerity or not may admit of a question, but in either case without coming to any satisfactory conclusion. Marlborough seems to have distrusted the manœuvre from the first, as his letters abundantly testify, and he gives the following account of its termination:

"Camp at Burcheim, 16th July, 1704.

"SIR,—I received last night the favour of your letter of the 20th post, and doubt not but, from what I wrote you in two former, this will find you in great expectation of the success of our treaty with the Elector of Bavaria. Count Wratislaw returned yesterday noon, and gives an account that, instead of the elector's coming to him to sign the articles, as was consented, he sent his secretary, M. Richardt, to acquaint him that, since M. Tallard was advancing with an army of five-

and-thirty thousand men, it was neither in his power nor consistent with his honour to quit the French interest. Thus you see that matter is at an end for the present. While it has been in agitation, to lose no time, we have been attacking the town of Rain, which has this day capitulated ; and, as we are now advancing into the heart of Bavaria, to destroy the country, and oblige the elector one way or another to a compliance, we shall not be able on our side to hinder the junction. Prince Eugene has had all the reinforcements from us that he desired, and we are in hopes he may do something towards preventing it ; though, if the mareschal arrive at Villingen the 14th, as the enemy give out, it will not be in his power neither ; but, as we have heard nothing from the prince these two days, we cannot think the enemy are advanced so far. Neither do we believe their strength to be much more than five-and-twenty thousand men. If they should join, it may prolong the war for some time in these parts. I have been on horseback all this day, which obliges me to make use of Mr. Cardonel's hand."

“Aicha, July 20, 1704.

“WE came to this camp on Friday, and have been since drawing what corn and other provisions we could from Neuburg and parts adjacent for erecting a magazine at this place, intending to leave a garrison, and so advance to-morrow to post ourselves so as to make it difficult for the elector to draw any quantity of provisions from his own country for the subsistence of his army, which must make them very uneasy.”

“Camp at Friberg, July 23, 1704.

“SIR,—My last to you was of Sunday from Aicha. The next day we advanced about two leagues towards this place, and, halting yesterday in the morning, I took out the picket of the left, with a detachment of five hundred foot, and came to view this ground, and to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. Upon my approach to the town, the garrison, consisting of two hundred horse, and as many foot, retired with great precipitation to their camp on the other side the Leche, close to Augsburg; whereupon the magistrates brought

me the keys, and I took possession with the five hundred foot and one hundred horse, and this morning the whole army came to encamp, with the right at Wolfurthausen, and the left at Oostmaring: this town being in the centre of the line, within a league of the city, whereof we have a perfect view, as well as of the enemy's camp. After we had taken possession yesterday, a messenger was sent hither from the elector, to order all the inhabitants to retire with their effects into Augsburg, who, being seized and brought to me, I sent him back this morning. We are now so near that the enemy cannot receive any subsistence for their army out of the country of Bavaria, which lies entirely at our mercy.

“We received an express this morning from Prince Eugene, giving an account that M. Tallard was attacking of Villingen, and that he was observing him with twenty battalions and sixty squadrons, having left the rest of his troops in the lines, under the command of Count Nassau.”

“ Friberg, July 27, 1704.

“ SINCE my last I have had the favour of your letters of the 27th and 30th post, and have likewise had from Mr. Stephens extracts of all that has been sent to him relating to the negotiation of the Elector of Bavaria ; so that I think I am sufficiently instructed in that matter, if there were any real inclination on the elector's side to treat. But I am of your opinion, that he will not be brought to terms till the last extremity, and that we could not buy him at too dear a rate. He relies entirely on his succours which are advancing from the Rhine. The Duke Regent of Wirtemberg had letters from those parts of the 23rd instant, which advise that M. Tallard, after lying six days before Villingen with four twenty-four pounders and eight sixteen-pounders, had been obliged that day, on the approach of Prince Eugene, to retire,—that he advanced the same evening about two leagues, and was to march the same day to Dutlingen, on the Danube, where he had sent before to bake bread for his troops, resolving to march with all expedition to join the elector. If this

news be true, of which we are hourly expecting the confirmation, the junction may be made about the 2nd of next month. We are told that the Mareschal de Villeroy has orders to fall with the troops under his command into the country of Wirtemberg, so that the enemy's vast designs on the Rhine are vanished, and the whole war like to be brought on this side. They will have in Alsace only the Swiss that refused to pass, and a few battalions more under M. Coigny.

“Since the enclosing my letter, we have one from Prince Eugene, which confirms the news relating to M. de Tallard.”

It was now that the results of Marlborough's masterly combinations began to develope themselves. Alsace and Brabant were both laid bare by the same series of brilliant movements that had saved the imperial throne ; while the enemy, threatened from a point where least of all they had anticipated danger, found themselves compelled, in the middle of a campaign, to change the whole plan of their operations. There needed but a victory to ensure to the allies the power of choosing their own

theatre for the future ; and that was in due time obtained. How the battle was brought on, — with what consummate address the French marshals were anticipated in all their schemes, and finally hurried into one of the most disastrous conflicts of modern times, the great warrior himself shall describe. The tale has, I am aware, been often told already, but nowhere, as far as I am aware, has the narrative taken the clear and simple form which the modest letters of Marlborough give to it.

“ Friberg, July 31, 1704.

SIR,—I have received your obliging letter of the 4th instant, and do assure you I cannot have greater pleasure than to see my friends satisfied that I do my best to discharge my duty for the honour of her Majesty's arms and the good of the public, which I shall never be wanting to promote to my utmost endeavours.

“ We intended, if we could have got a sufficient train of artillery together, to have attacked Munich, and might in that case have been masters of it by this time ; but it not being to be had, and the elector continuing obstinately to adhere to the interest of France,

we find ourselves under the necessity of burning and destroying his country, to which end the Count de Latour and Count Oostfrize were sent out on Tuesday morning to begin in the neighbourhood of Munich, as we shall continue to do in other parts, to deprive the enemy, as far as we can, of any subsistence from his country. In the meanwhile we are endeavouring to get together thirty pieces of cannon at Neuburg for the siege of Ingolstadt, which, when we have taken, will make us masters of the Danube from Ulm to Nassau, and by that means we shall always have a free passage into Bavaria. You will see by the copy of my letter to Prince Eugene, and the dispositions I purpose for this siege, that if it takes effect, we are not without hopes of undertaking that of Ulm before the campaign be ended, the conquest of which place will make it very difficult for the enemy to send any more succours hereafter into these parts, or to find subsistence for what is already here. M. de Tallard is advancing, and, as I told you in my last, may probably join the elector in three or four days. If they give us a fair

opportunity of engaging, you may be sure we will not decline it, our troops being full of courage, and desiring nothing more."

It is well known that in the Prince of Baden Marlborough had an intractable colleague to deal with, whose pettish humours, and extreme jealousy, both of himself and of Prince Eugene, required no little address to soothe and keep under. But with the qualities requisite to control such a temper Marlborough was peculiarly gifted. He succeeded in giving the prince occupation at the siege of Ingolstadt, at the same time that he hindered him from drawing too much from the army in the field; and, being thus freed, as it were, from his fetters, he pushed on with the campaign. He shall again speak for himself.

"Friberg, August 3.

"SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of the 7th instant, and since mine of the 31st our whole business has been to burn and destroy the elector's country. I told you then the Count de Latour was abroad with three thousand horse for that purpose. The Duke of Wirtemberg was sent out on Thursday on

the same errand, and are both returned this evening, having burned a great number of villages between this and Munich, so that the elector can expect nothing less than the ruin of Bavaria for his obstinacy and breach of promise to Count Wratislaw. Mr. Stepney will have informed you of the measures that have been taken at Vienna to succour the Duke of Savoy; and you may be sure I have it as much at heart as you can wish to press that court to send further supplies as soon as our affairs here will permit it. Prince Louis having assured me that the artillery will be ready at Neuburg for the siege of Ingolstadt, we shall decamp to-morrow and march that way. He has made me the compliment either of commanding or covering the siege. I believe I shall choose the latter, for fear everything may not be so readily supplied that may be wanting to carry on the attack. We have nothing new of M. de Tallard, which makes us apprehensive he may be halted at Ulm in order to repass the Danube, by which he may be more uneasy to us than if joined with the elector."

“ Rederschonfeldt, August 10.

“ SIR,—I hope you will excuse me, that having been on horseback almost the whole day, and coming home late, very much tired, I did not write to you by the last post from Hoghewart; however, I directed Mr. Cardonel to acquaint you with our motions, and the little news that was then stirring.

“ We marched the next day from thence to Scruditzel, and yesterday Prince Louis marched with twenty-three battalions and thirty-one squadrons to Neuburg in order to carry on the siege of Ingolstadt, and I came with the rest of the army to Exheim. On the march I received advice that the enemy decamped the same morning from Biberbach, and were marching towards Lawingen with a design, as it is supposed, to pass the Danube. Prince Eugene, who left us that morning, met the same news as he was going to his camp; upon which he came back to me, and, consulting together, we thought it advisable that he should be forthwith reinforced, and that the whole army should advance nearer to the Danube, in order to join him if the enemy

passed. Hereupon I ordered the Duke Regent of Wirtemberg to march early this morning to reinforce the prince with twenty-seven squadrons, and at the same time sent my brother Churchill with twenty battalions over the Danube, so as to be at hand to join him if there should be occasion. I marched likewise to-day with the rest of the troops to this camp near the river, to be ready to pass on the first certain advice of the enemy's being gone over, which it is not doubted they will do, it being very likely the elector has prevailed with the two marshals to make this march on purpose to draw us out of this country, though Prince Louis will still be entirely at liberty to send parties to burn and ravage the rest of Bavaria, and carry on the siege at the same time, the enemy having no troops left except the garrisons of Munich and Augsburg."

"Camp at Hochst. Thursdays morning.

"SIR,—I gave you an account on Sunday of the situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the enemy would pass the Danube at Lawingen, in order to attack Prince

Eugene. At eleven that night we had an express from him that the enemy were come over, and desiring he might be reinforced as soon as possible. Whereupon I ordered my brother Churchill to advance at one o'clock in the morning with his twenty battalions, and by three the whole army was in motion. For the greater expedition, I ordered part of the troops to pass over the Danube and follow the march of the twenty battalions; and with most of the horse and the foot of the first line I passed the Leche at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawert; so that we all joined the prince that night, intending to advance and take this camp of Hochstadt. In order whereunto we went out on Tuesday early in the morning with forty squadrons to view the ground, but found the enemy had already possessed themselves of it. Whereupon we resolved to attack them; and accordingly we marched between three and four yesterday morning from the camp at Munster, leaving all our tents standing. About six we came in view of the enemy, who, we found, did not expect so early a visit. The cannon began to

play about half an hour after eight. They formed themselves in two bodies : the Elector, with M. Marsin and their troops on our right, and M. de Tallard, with all his, on our left, which last fell to my share. They had two little rivulets, besides a morass, before them, which we were obliged to pass over in their view : and Prince Eugene was forced to take a great compass to come to the enemy, so that it was one o'clock before the battle began. It lasted with great vigour till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to retire, and, by the blessing of God, we obtained a great victory. We have cut off great numbers of them, as well in the action as in the retreat, besides upwards of thirty squadrons of the French which I pushed into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish. M. de Tallard, with several of his general officers, being taken prisoners at the same time ; and in the village of Blenheim, which the enemy had entrenched and fortified, and where they made the greatest opposition, I obliged twenty-six entire battalions and twelve squadrons of dragoons to surrender themselves prisoners at

discretion. We took likewise all their tents standing, with their cannon and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettle-drums, and colours in the action, so that I reckon the greatest part of Tallard's army is taken or destroyed.

“The bravery of all our troops on this occasion cannot be expressed, the generals, as well as the officers and soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest courage and resolution, the horse and dragoons having been obliged to charge four or five several times.

“The Elector and M. de Marsin were so advantageously posted, that Prince Eugene could make no impression on them till the third attack, at near seven at night, when he made a great slaughter of them; but, being near a woodside, a good body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that army retreated towards Lawingen, it being too late, and the troops too much tired to pursue them far. I cannot say too much of the prince's good conduct, and the bravery of his troops, on this occasion. You will please to lay this before her Majesty and his Royal Highness, to

whom I send my Lord Tunbridge with the good news.

“I pray you will likewise inform yourself, and let me know her Majesty’s pleasure, as well relating to M. de Tallard and the other general officers, as for the disposal of near twelve hundred other officers and between eight and nine thousand common soldiers, who, being all made prisoners by her Majesty’s troops, are entirely at her disposal; but as the charge of subsisting these officers and men must be very great, I presume her Majesty will be inclined that they be exchanged for any other prisoners that offer.

“I should likewise be glad to receive her Majesty’s directions for the disposal of the standards and colours, whereof I have not yet the number, but guess there cannot be less than a hundred, which is more than has been taken in any battle this many years.

“You will easily believe that, in so long and vigorous an action, the English, who had so great a share in it, must have suffered both in officers and men.”

Such is the account of the battle of Blenheim, or Hochstadt, as it came from the pen of Marlborough, at a moment when, from a postscript written in his own hand, we learn that "he was very much out of order for want of rest." Its distinguishing characteristic is modesty ; for not only is the writer silent as to his own personal exertions throughout the day, but he very much underrates the amount both of the enemy's loss, and of the trophies which passed into the hands of the victors. The error is indeed rectified in future communications, from which we learn that upwards of eleven thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the English ; while, with still greater satisfaction, we read in his despatch of the 17th, that "this day was devoutly observed throughout the whole army, in returning thanks to Almighty God for his blessing upon the army of the allies." An admirable practice this, which seems, unhappily, to have died out in modern times with our troops in the field, and is not much observed by our civil authorities at home, in cases where its observance might be looked for. Yet was the victory obtained at

a large expense of life to the allies; for the official returns give, in all, three thousand two hundred and ninety-two killed, of whom one hundred and ninety were officers, with five thousand three hundred and ninety-one wounded, including four hundred and sixty-four who bore commissions. Nevertheless the results were of a nature to compensate this loss, great as it was; for the whole of the country up to the Rhine itself submitted, and the Rhine presented no obstacle to the onward march of the victors. Hence the Elector of Bavaria, after a good deal of tergiversation and shuffling, gave in his submission, and Germany was at peace with itself.

Such was the campaign of Hochstadt, or Blenheim, and such the services by which Robert Chambers acquired his title to admission into Chelsea Hospital. It will be admitted, I think, even by the most fastidious, that he earned the shelter that was afforded to his old age.

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Such was the campaign of 1795, or, at least, and such the services by which the late Chamberlain acquired his title to admission into Chelsea Hospital. It will be admitted, I think, even by the most fastidious, that he earned the shelter that was afforded to his old age.

A TRADITION OF
THE WAR OF SUCCESSION
IN SPAIN.

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CHAPTER I.

*Showing how claims for admission into Chelsea Hospital
may be established.*

IF there be any reader of these volumes to whom Captain Carleton's delightful Memoirs happen to be strange, the little tale which it has now become my business to tell, will, if it lead to no better result, probably induce him, without delay, to make amends for his past negligence. Among other curious anecdotes of the war of the succession in Spain, the gallant captain relates the following. He describes the order of Lord Peterborough's progress to the coast, when, being civilly removed from the command of the British army in Spain, he quitted the archduke's camp at Guadalaxara, and says,

“ From Huette the Earl of Peterborow marched forwards for Valencia, with only those fourscore dragoons which came with him from Churcon, leaving General Windham pursuing his own orders to join his forces to the army, then under the command of the Lord Galway. But stopping at Campelio, a little town in our way, his lordship had information of a most barbarous fact committed that very morning by the Spaniards at a small villa, about a league distant, upon some English soldiers.

“ A captain of the English guards, whose name has slipped my memory, though I well knew the man, marching in order to join the battalion of the guards, then under the command of General Windham, with some of his soldiers that had been in the hospital, took up his quarters in that little villa. But on his marching out of it next morning, a shot in the back laid that officer dead on the spot; and, as it had been before concerted, the Spaniards of the place at the same time fell upon the poor weak soldiers, killing several, not even sparing their wives. This was but a prelude to their barbarity: their savage cruelty was

only whetted, not glutted. They took the surviving few, and hurried and dragged them up a hill a little without the villa. On the top of this hill there was a hole, or opening, somewhat like the mouth of one of our coal-pits : down this they cast several, who, with hideous shrieks, and cries made more hideous by the echoes of the chasm, there lost their lives.

“ This relation was thus made to the Earl of Peterborow, at his quarters at Campelio, who immediately gave orders for to sound to horse. At first we were all surprised, but were soon satisfied that it was to revenge, or rather do justice on this barbarous action.

“ As soon as we entered the villa, we found that most of the inhabitants, but especially the most guilty, had withdrawn themselves on our approach. We found, however, many of the dead soldiers' clothes, which had been conveyed into the church, and there hid. And a strong accusation being laid against a person belonging to the church, and full proof made that he had been singularly industrious in the execution of that horrid piece of barbarity on

the hill, his lordship commanded him to be hanged up at the knocker of the door.

“After this piece of military justice, we were led up to the fatal pit or hole, down which many had been cast headlong. There we found one poor soldier alive, who, upon being thrown in, had caught fast hold of some impending bushes, and saved himself on a little jutty within the concavity. On hearing us talk English he cried out; and ropes being let down, in a little time he was drawn up, when he gave us an ample detail of the whole villainy. Among other particulars, I remember he told me of a very narrow escape he had in that obscure recess. A poor woman, one of the wives of the soldiers, who was thrown down after him, struggled and roared so much, that they could not with all their force throw her cleverly in the middle; by which means, falling near the side, in her fall she almost beat him from his place of security.”

Having this anecdote fresh in my recollection, I was a good deal struck by discovering the subjoined legend among the list of entries in Chelsea Hospital for the year 1715.

“Wade’s late regiment. — Neil Campbell was left ill in the hospital in Spain. Shot in the left hip and thigh, and thrown into a well. Remained there until he got an occasion of transportation.”

The first impression upon my mind after reading the above was, that Neil Campbell could be no other than the soldier of whom Captain Carleton makes mention. I knew, indeed, that the horrid exploit near Campelio stood not alone in the annals of Spanish cruelty. From the most remote times there has prevailed in Spain an indifference to human suffering such as we cannot discover in any other European country,—a thirst of revenge which never could be satiated, except by the infliction of unheard-of torments upon its object. And the records of our own Peninsular campaigns, equally with the character of the civil strife which is now going on, abundantly prove that a disposition so unworthy of a brave and magnanimous people, is in no degree worn out or ameliorated. Who that is conversant with the minute details of the late war can have forgotten the treatment awarded

by a band of Spanish peasants to an unfortunate French officer who fell into their hands, when, tying him up in a sack, out of which his head alone protruded, they immersed him in a cauldron of cold water, and, lighting a fire beneath, stood and watched his sufferings as he boiled to death. It was the singularity of the mode of execution, or attempted execution, in Neil Campbell's case, however, which induced me at first sight to assume that Captain Carleton and the registry book bore testimony to the same fact. But a more patient investigation of the subject, convinced me that I was at fault in this assumption. Wade's regiment was not a regiment of guards, neither did Neil Campbell's temporary inhumation take place at a villa near Campelio. Accordingly I was forced, though with reluctance, to abandon my first theory, and to look around for another. There were many obstacles to be surmounted in conducting my future inquiries, for I had to trace the man and his fortunes into the most remote corners,—yet I succeeded. And as his story seems to me to possess some interest, I do not see why it should not

take its place among the traditions of Chelsea Hospital. Here then it is.

Of the place of my hero's birth, as well as of the events which may have given a character to his youthful days, I am altogether ignorant. His name seems to indicate that he first saw the light on the north of the Tweed, and the mountains of Argyleshire may, perhaps, have been his nursing mother. But, however this may be, the earliest trace which I have obtained of him is as a soldier in the gallant corps of which General Wade was the colonel, and of which Neil became a member in the year 1694. He took service, it appears, somewhere in Cumberland, whither he seems to have accompanied a relative in charge of a drove of black cattle; and he was transferred with a batch of recruits, picked up at the same time and place, to the regimental depôt at Portsmouth. How it fared with him there I cannot pretend to say, for there is a blank in my legend of some year's duration. But the muster-roll of his battalion shows that he embarked in the spring of 1706 for Barcelona, as

one of that well-timed reinforcement of which General Stanhope was the leader, and of which the beleaguered Archduke Charles and his garrison and friends stood sorely in need.

I am not going to describe the progress of a war, with the great events in which Lord Mahon has so recently and so satisfactorily made the public acquainted. My purpose is sufficiently served when I state that in most of these Wade's regiment took part, and that no man or officer belonging to the British contingent did his duty with greater zeal or gallantry than Neil Campbell. Quiet and orderly in quarters, Neil was brave as a lion in the field; and being, moreover, a remarkably good-looking youth, he became to the full as much a favourite with the senoretas in the former situation, as with his comrades when in the latter. Scottish soldiers, I am aware, generally claim credit to themselves for making large inroads into the good graces of the people on whom, in strange lands, they are billeted; and they account for the circumstance by stating that they are more forward to do little acts of kindness to their hosts and

hostesses, in carrying in their water, rocking their cradle, and otherwise assisting them in their domestic arrangements, than the natives either of England or Ireland. All this may be true as Holy Writ, though I confess that my own experience does not qualify me to speak either for or against its truth. But to one fact all who have served in the Peninsula will bear testimony,—namely, that the Spanish women, if kindly treated, are prompt to return the kindness with interest; and that in numberless instances their generosity has led them to encounter hazards and undergo privations from which the women of almost any other country under heaven would have shrunk back in dismay.

Neil Campbell marched with his regiment from Barcelona to Madrid, and again quitted the latter city when the generals saw fit to draw towards Guadalaxara. At Guadalaxara likewise he lingered for some time, in a district of which all the inhabitants were hostile, and suffered, in common with his companions in arms, many and severe privations; for no supplies were brought into the camp, no intel-

ligence was communicated of the enemy's movements ; indeed it was only by the distressing, and, in the end, fatal method of requisition, that Lord Galway preserved his army at all from starvation, while on his own patrols, and on them alone, he was forced to depend for intelligence. As a necessary result of such proceedings on both sides, by each was the other hated. The natives abhorred the allied troops as invaders and plunderers ; the allied troops abhorred the natives because they resisted the system of methodised plunder, and not unfrequently revenged upon individuals the damage which they had received from whole communities. Thus that which might be at the outset a mere political alienation, degenerated by degrees into fierce personal rancour, till, in the end, to put an Englishman, or a Portuguese, or an imperialist to death, would have been to a Castilian more delightful than to save a countryman alive.

It is well known that the chiefs of the allied army, after wasting some precious weeks at Guadalaxara, came to the determination of retreating upon Portugal. They felt them-

selves quite inadequate, in point of numbers, to maintain the advanced position which they had occupied. Nay, so slight was their hold upon the affections of the people, that Madrid itself was lost almost as soon as it had been won; for, on the 4th of August it quietly submitted to a squadron of Spanish horse, which Berwick had detached for the purpose of taking possession. Upon this the allies determined to retreat, but, unfortunately for themselves, they were at once too slow in coming to this decision, and too remiss in their exertions to act up to it. They fell back indeed, to Churcon, a village not far from Aranjuez, and learned there that their intentions had been penetrated; while Berwick rapidly interposed himself between them and Toledo, and the southern bank of the Tagus became covered with bands of armed peasants. Now these were obstacles, which being added to the natural difficulties of a rough and mountainous country, Generals like Lord Galway and the Marques Das Minas, knew not how to surmount. Fresh councils of war were summoned every day, fresh deliberations held;

and a different line of march, over an elbow of New Castile into the kingdom of Valencia, was at last agreed upon. Yet, like persons who distrust the strength of their own judgment, and are continually re-arguing questions which have been already decided, they put off from day to day the commencement of their journey. The consequence was, that Berwick closed upon them fast; while the guerillas grew so bold, and so numerous, that no party could go abroad to forage, except at the imminent risk of being cut off, and, which amounted to the same thing, being put to death on the spot.

When the allied army entered Churcon, the village was found to be utterly deserted. A few women and children, to be sure, lingered about their houses, but even the aged men were gone,—that is to say, all, except the blind, the deaf, and the bed-ridden: a circumstance which led, not unnaturally, to the conclusion, that every human being in the place, who had strength to wield a musket, was in arms. This notion received additional strength from the discovery, that at no place where

they had yet halted, were the allies more pertinaciously or daringly attacked. Not only stragglers, but the very sentries on their posts, and not the sentries only, but the picquets round their watch-fires, were continually fired at; so that many a brave fellow received a wound, and not a few were slain, by hands that never became visible to them. It could not be otherwise but that Churcon should become to its new occupants, under such circumstances, an object of positive loathing; and that several who had lost their comrades, determined ere they quitted the place, to make of it a lasting monument of a soldier's vengeance.

The company to which Neil Campbell was attached, chanced to take up its quarters in a house which stood at some distance from the village properly so called, and detached from all others. It was a stately mansion, surrounded by outbuildings, and bearing every exterior mark of the gentility of its owner; for a broad court begirt by a lofty wall ushered you to the front gate; and the clumps of trees in the sort of park that closed it in,

were of the growth of centuries. Both officers and men hoped to receive, in such a place, treatment more liberal than the mere cottagers were apt to afford; but they had deceived themselves. When they came to take possession, they found that there were no friendly voices to bid them welcome,—that the casa was not only deserted by its inhabitants, but that every living thing seemed to have been carefully driven away from it, and its offices. There was no horse in the stable, no cow in the stall, no pig in the sty, no poultry about the yard; while some smoking embers alone pointed out the spot, where not long ago several stacks of hay and corn must have stood. The soldiers were both surprised and indignant at all this. Elsewhere the women and children had been entrusted to their clemency, and if the supplies of which they stood in need were not at hand, at least they could discover no proof that the very necessities of life had been wantonly destroyed. Here the reverse was the case, and a good deal of murmuring broke out in consequence. Nay more. Leap-

ing at conclusions as men in their circumstances are apt to do, the soldiers took it for granted that the owner of the mansion, be he who he might, was in the field against them. Nay, that in all probability he was the chief or leader of the bands, which soon began to gather round, and harass them in their quarters. "The vile bandit!" was now their cry, "the brutal assassin! Ay, and look at the accommodation which he has provided for us; there is no forage for our animals, no food for ourselves, no not even straw to lie down upon. But we'll make his furniture pay for it." And so they did. For chairs, tables, and other household stuff supplied fuel for the fires, while the sole wish expressed was, that they had but the rascally Don in their clutches, that they might hang him up to scare the crows at a branch of one of his own chestnut-trees.

All this may seem very shocking to the ordinary reader, and doubtless is so, but it is still very natural. Men smarting under the sting of pressing hardships, are not apt to take counsel either of sober reason, or

generosity; and if they possess the power, will, in nine cases of ten, use it without moderation, in punishing those to whom they attribute their misfortunes. Moreover it has always been a sort of recognised law in war, that he who will not stay at home to take care of his property, places himself at once in the situation of an enemy, and deserves to have his property laid waste. Beyond this, however, British soldiers very seldom go. In the hurry of a storm they may be ruthless enough, but towards an unoffending populace they are invariably as generous and considerate—as considerate, at least, as is at all consistent with a due attention to their own wants. Ay, and they often go beyond this, as my reader will find by adverting to the contents of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

*Showing how a hungry man can pinch himself
to help others.*

IT has been the custom in the British army, from time immemorial, for the privates in each regiment to take it by turns to cook: two or three men, according to the numerical strength of each company, being permitted to absent themselves from parade and other duties of state, in order that they may prepare victuals for their comrades. At Churcon, as has just been stated, there were few viands to dress, yet there were some; and viands, whether in large or in small quantities, must be dressed ere they can be eaten. Accordingly the process of cooking went on from day to day, both at the Estantia and elsewhere, sometimes when the camp-kettles contained little else than calavances and olive-oil.

It was the fifth day after their occupation of the deserted casa, when it fell to Neil's turn to execute the office of *maitre de cuisine* for his companions. The day was clear and bright, forming a remarkable contrast to those that had preceded it, all of which, for the space of a week and more, had been boisterous and rainy; and the generals, as if willing to make the most of the opportunity, ordered the whole of the contingent under arms, for the purpose of being inspected. In consequence of this order, Neil was left in solitary and undisturbed possession of the entire mansion. All his comrades marched forth towards the place of rendezvous, with their accoutrements neatly furbished up, and every thing in review order; leaving him to make ready their messes of soup meagre and mouldy biscuit, and to season it as he best could with a bag of onions, which one of them had discovered, to his indescribable delight, in a corner of an empty hayloft.

Neil saw the people depart, and stood at the door watching their receding steps, till they disappeared round an angle in the park wall.

He then applied himself to his peculiar duties, by stirring up the fire, heaping on an arm-chair to make it burn brightly, and filling his camp-kettles, for there were three, with water. He next shredded into the liquor, in their proper proportions, the beans, and onions, and morsels of lean beef, out of which it had become his province to manufacture a savoury mess, and, vainly longing for salt, which was not forthcoming, sat down on a stool by the fire-side to abide the result. I ought to have said at the outset, that Neil was quite alone; for, partly because the eatables were scanty, partly because the colonel was anxious to make a show in the presence of Das Minas, by whom the British contingent was to be reviewed, the orders ran that only one man from each company should this day continue in his quarters. Neil, therefore, having taken his seat, soon fell into a reverie, during which no thought of danger once crossed his mind; first, because he knew that the picquets were between him and an enemy; and next, because, had it been otherwise, he was constitutionally fearless. How his fancy exercised itself, I cannot

tell. Perhaps he wandered back in imagination to his home in the far north; to Loch Awe, with its sweeping bays and bold promontories; to Dalmallie, smiling and fair, and sheltered like an eagle's nest by the beetling mountains that surround it; to Glenorchy's wild and rugged pass; or to some other of the romantic glens and straths, over which his clan have, from age to age, spread themselves. Or it may be that, like the generality of men in his situation, his thoughts ran chiefly on things present, on the extreme inconvenience, for example, of a good appetite, when the means of allaying it are scanty. But in either case, he had been immersed for a full half hour in what is commonly called a brown study; when an event befell, pregnant to him with far more serious consequences than, unlooked-for as it was, and at the moment not a little alarming, he could have imagined.

In the country-houses of Castile, whether great or small, there is very seldom a fireplace, except in the kitchen, and that is usually large enough to admit of a whole family sitting with comfort under the shadow of the

high chimney, and in a semicircle about the dogs. It was in the kitchen that my hero had planted himself, of which the floor was paved with large flags, and which had on each flank of the fire-place a projecting pillar or buttress, into which a stone seat was admitted. Here then sat Neil, partly watching his kettles, partly, as I have just said, indulging his contemplative humour; while with a vacant stare he would from time to time turn his eyes towards the opposite end of the apartment. There was a perfect stillness around; a stillness which told the more by reason of the contrast which it presented to the unceasing din of voices which usually echoed through the mansion; for, except the gurgling of the water as it began to boil, and the occasional crackling of the fuel, not a sound was to be heard. Neil was a good deal struck with this circumstance; when all at once a noise caught his ear, as of a bolt withdrawn with a spring, or the loud click of a musket lock brought suddenly to full cock. The young man gazed round, not without a rush of the blood to his heart; but of the chamber he was the sole tenant. He

looked to the casements. They were open, as usual, but nobody stood near them; he turned his eyes towards the door, and it was closed. Was it possible that fancy had misled him? He could not think so;—he was sure the sound was real. Whence then could it proceed? He had no time to stir; he could not so much as grasp at his weapon which stood near him in the corner, when the problem received its solution.

Neil was gazing eagerly round, when a faint creak, as of a rusty hinge turning on its axis, came upon his ear, and he saw at the same instant one of the flat stones with which the apartment was paved begin to heave. He sprang to his feet, but so quietly that no alarm was taken; and passing with a light step behind the screen of the stone pillar, he there awaited the issue in a state of feeling such as I cannot undertake to describe. Neil was very brave: yet he was alone; and he knew it. Moreover Neil had about him something of the superstitious feeling which is said to attach to his countrymen in general; and though it was broad day, he was too ignorant

of the customs of Spain to be assured that even in broad day visitors from the world of spirits might not there revisit this earth. Therefore his breath came thick, and his pulse beat furiously, while with a fixed eye he watched the ponderous stone gradually heave itself up, till it stood quite erect. Nor was his self-possession restored when from the aperture there emerged a human head, pale, and wan, and haggard, which cast round the room a glance of fearful import, in which might be read the combined expressions of anxiety, and fear, and pain, and intense curiosity. This done, the head disappeared, and for a moment all was still.

Neil felt his cheek and lips grow cold and clammy. His hair bristled up and his knees shook, and then through every vein the blood rushed as if it would have burst its banks and poured out upon the floor. He muttered a prayer, and, being a Roman Catholic, began devoutly to cross himself, when, lo! the apparition presented itself again, though in a much more tangible shape. This time there rose from the aperture a female form, dressed in a

long dark robe. The face was the same which had attracted his notice at the first. It was still pale and wan; yet Neil could now ascertain that the features were singularly regular, and the eyes full, large, dark, and beautifully expressive. In a word, his courage revived in proportion as he became more and more convinced that he was looking upon a creature of flesh and bones, and he saw that there stood before him a young and delicate woman. Now then curiosity of the most intense kind became the ruling passion in his breast. It was a strange adventure,—it might lead he knew not to what consequences; but he resolved to see it out, let come what would, and to act with great caution in doing so. Accordingly he squeezed himself up into the smallest possible compass behind the pillar, and continued for a while to observe from his hiding-place the proceedings of the visitor.

In the mean while the lady, for such she seemed to be, stepped out upon the floor of the chamber, and stood still, while she threw an anxious and scrutinising glance on every side of her. The objects, however, which ap-

peared chiefly to attract her attention were Neil's camp-kettles, emitting as they did not only a gurgling noise, but a strong and savoury smell, which, judging from the expression of eagerness that passed suddenly across her countenance, produced upon her imagination no trifling effect. Again she looked anxiously round, and, as if satisfied that no hostile eye was upon her, she advanced towards the fire-place. Neil thought that her step was that of a person labouring under excessive bodily weakness, for she reeled a little in her gait; and, when she stooped to grasp one of the kettles, her hand shook, and she seemed scarcely able to raise it from its place. But she did raise it, and, turning about, was making what haste she could towards the trap-door, when my hero conceived that it was high time for him to interfere. He sprang from his hiding-place, and, throwing himself between the stranger and the open cavity, barred her further progress. A faint scream and an immediate abandonment of the camp-kettle gave notice of her alarm. She cast an imploring glance first on one side and then on

the other ; and having, as it seemed, ascertained that no chance of retreat lay open for her, she threw herself upon her knees. Now there were two circumstances attending this little scene, which jarred, both of them, against the feelings of Neil Campbell. He did not relish the loss of the good soup, which floated in a greasy stream over the kitchen floor ; and he was possessed of a heart too tender to behold with indifference a beautiful woman in deep distress, and kneeling before him. Of the soup, however, he took no notice at the moment ; but taking the stranger by one of her uplifted hands, he endeavoured to raise her gently from the ground, while by bowing, and laying his own hand upon his heart, he did his utmost to convince her that there was no cause for alarm. They say that women in general are very apt scholars in the language of signs. I do not know how far this may be correct ; but it is certain that Neil's inarticulate language was not lost upon the stranger, for she recovered her composure so far as to obey the impulse which he gave ; and the two

stood for a moment face to face, holding what converse they could with their eyes.

Neil Campbell knew no more of Spanish than British soldiers generally do, after they may have sojourned a few months or years in the Peninsula. He had caught up a few words, which he repeated on all occasions; and, when desirous of being more than usually eloquent, tried to increase his stock by giving Spanish terminations to English words. Thus, if he or his comrades wished to insinuate themselves into the good graces of a native, and chose to adopt the beaten road of flattery, their mode of expressing themselves was something like this: "The Ingleses cary the Hispanioles mucho; you cary the Ingleses." Or, if the party addressed chanced to be a woman, the compliment would run, "I cary you mucho mucho;—you mucho pretty." But Neil could not appeal to his ordinary vocabulary on the present occasion. Nature, if she cannot express herself intelligibly through the organs of speech, refuses to speak at all, and has recourse to the universal language of kind

looks and encouraging gestures. And so it was here. Neil taught the stranger to take courage, and learned from her expressive gestures that not only she herself, but some other persons, were dying of hunger.

“Good God!” exclaimed Neil in English, “no wonder that the poor girl looks pale; and here I stand, bowing and scraping over the wreck of the mess by which, poor thing! she hoped to save her own life, and the lives of her companions. We are badly enough off, it is true; but, hang it! we have something to eat. Come, my dear, you have spilt one kettle-full,—or rather, I have caused you to spill it by my rashness; but you shan’t go away empty-handed. Stay till I give you a portion out of another.”

He let go the stranger’s hand as he said this, and sprang towards the fire-place; while she, as if she had understood every word that was spoken, remained gazing after him with an expression of mingled gratitude and joy dancing in her bright eyes. He was beside her again in an instant, with a camp-kettle in one hand, and a tin dish in the other.

“How many are there of you?” asked he, trying at the same time to make his meaning palpable by signs.

She held up three of her thin white fingers.

“Ah! and how long is it since you tasted food?”

Again, she held up five fingers.

“Lord have mercy!” exclaimed Neil; “five days without eating! I wonder she is alive. But we must be cautious in this case.”

Accordingly he poured out only a portion of the soup, permitting no more solid viands than the calavances to mingle with it, and giving it to her, did his best to make her understand that he restricted her to such unsubstantial food because there would be danger to herself in any other. She took the dish with a low curtsey, but looked, he thought, disappointed either at the quantity or quality of the victuals contained in it. Neil was scarcely pleased with this. “She ought to remember,” said he to himself, “that we are not on full allowance ourselves, and that, were it otherwise, she has spoilt a good third part of our prog in her haste to save us the trouble of

discussing it. However, poor thing! she is evidently half famished; and it is very natural that she should wish the first meal that she gets to be a hearty one. But I won't give her any more at present: more would do her harm, and we can't spare it."

The stranger now moved towards the trap-door, Neil walking by her side, and making signs that he should very much like to attend her into her place of retreat; but she either could not or would not understand them. On the contrary, when they were yet a couple of yards from the aperture, she stopped, and, grasping my hero's hand, bent over it in token both of gratitude for the favour already received, and of a desire on her part that they should separate. Neil pointed, on this, to the trap-door, laid his hand upon his breast, and made a movement as if in advance; but she shook her head, and looked so beseechingly in his face, that he determined to restrain his curiosity. "Well, well, poor thing!" said he aloud, "I won't disturb you. Go thy ways: by me thy privacy shall never be broken in upon; only it might be that I could do thee

more good if I knew the exact state of thy affairs, than I can now, conversing with thee only by signs. However, thy will shall be mine ; so God bless thee !”

He stopped as he said this, and the stranger again thanked him with her bright black eyes ; a species of acknowledgment which went a great deal farther to assure him that he had acted rightly than the best arranged speech in the world.

It seemed, however, that she was not yet content. She laid her finger on her lips, pointed first to the trap-door, and then round and round the chamber, and last of all shook her head.

“ Oh, ay, I understand thee,” replied Neil, “ I am not to betray thy secret ; I am not to let my comrades know that there are other inmates in the house than themselves. Be it so—but how in this case are you to get any fresh supplies ? and the little portion which I have given you now, won’t serve, I take it, for more than a single meal.”

It is certain that the lady did not understand one word of English. I never met with

a Spanish woman yet, who, if she had not travelled, understood any other language than her own ; yet either she must have been inspired, or Neil's gestures were so very significative, that they conveyed to her mind on the instant an impression of what he desired to communicate. She answered him, as before, by signs. She held her hands between her face and the casement, to denote darkness ; she pointed to the open door, waved her arm round, by which Neil could gather that she was alluding to the return of such opportunities as the absence of the troops had this day afforded. Finally she struck her heel thrice upon the floor, pointing all the while to the aperture ; and looked up into Neil's face with a glance which said, " Do you comprehend me ?"

" I understand you perfectly," replied Campbell nodding his head : " when the people are asleep or abroad, I am to knock thrice upon the trap-door, on hearing which signal you will put up your pretty head, and get such subscriptions as I can collect for you. It shall be done, my dear ; and the deuce is in

it if I can't contrive to save as much out of my own mess as, with the help of a little filching from others, may keep your souls and bodies together : so don't be afraid ; we'll manage it somehow or another."

The lady again appeared fully to understand what the Scottish soldier was saying. She took his hand a second time ; kissed it gratefully, looked up to heaven as if praying for a blessing on her preserver, and quitted him. Neil watched her from the spot to which his feelings had chained him, till she sank out of view ; and the stone rolled back to its place. He then turned away, astounded beyond measure at the strangeness of the adventure ; and half-reproaching himself for lack of daring, in not making good his entrance into the subterranean abode. But that thought occupied his mind only for a moment. " No, no, it would have been ungenerous in the extreme," said he, " to force myself into her confidence. I did right ; and what is more, I must keep her secret even from my officers, for there is one of them who, I doubt, would make but an ill use of his knowledge

if he acquired it. However, I wish she hadn't dropped this kettle in such a hurry. Hang it, I shall get blamed for wasting the food that is so scarce, and she is never a bit the better for it."

So saying he carefully gathered up the more solid portions that lay scattered about, such as the meat, beans, onions, and crumbs of biscuit; and concentrating the contents of the three kettles into one, he again divided them, and filled up such as needed replenishing with water. Fortunately for him, the troops were kept long upon parade that day; so that a tedious process in stewing got credit for the deficiency in quantity of which all complained. But the messes were pronounced by universal consent, to be on the whole as good as could be expected, nor did any body discover that a portion of them had been taken up from a dirty stone floor, and eaten, "with all their imperfections on their head."

CHAPTER III.

Showing how much may result from a change of quarters.

THERE was but a single company of foot, and that not a strong one, in the house of which Neil Campbell was an inmate. One captain, two subalterns, and forty-six men made up the whole; and, the house being large, it was not found necessary to make use of the *lumbre*, or flagged kitchen, as a sleeping apartment. This was a fortunate event for Neil, and for the poor creatures whom he had humanely undertaken to nourish; for, had a contrary arrangement prevailed, it would have been utterly impossible for him to have made his signal, except at remote and uncertain intervals. As it was, not a night came without his knocking at the trap-door, and handing over to his fair acquaintance such scraps as he

might have succeeded in collecting, which were received with a degree of thankfulness that went to his very heart, and more and more confirmed him in his delicate determination not to pass the limits in the intimacy which the stranger had set at its commencement.

Affairs had been in this state a space of five days, and Neil was made happy by observing that his fair friend improved in flesh and in her general appearance under his hands, when one morning an order reached the casa that the men should get under arms on the instant. Nobody was to remain at home this time, neither was a scrap of baggage to be left behind ; for the enemy were moving as if to attack, and it was necessary to act against them. The order came at ten o'clock in the day ; and in a quarter of an hour afterwards every knapsack was packed, every car loaded, and the whole company in full march, they could not tell whither. Nor was there, with the single exception of Neil Campbell, an individual belonging to the body who regretted the movement. On the contrary, all hoped that they were about to quit Churcon for ever,

—a place where they had fared as badly, and suffered more than in any other part of Spain; indeed the sole cause of regret with them was, that time enough had not been afforded to set their late quarters on fire. But Neil Campbell's thoughts were very differently occupied. It grieved him to the heart that he should thus be hurried away, without an opportunity having been afforded of saying farewell to his protégée; and he trudged along, silent, and moody, and sad, a very different man from what he ordinarily was when there appeared a prospect, however faint, of active operations.

Neil was grieved at the idea of quitting Churcon without being able to indulge in one more interview with his fair dependant,—for, if the truth must be spoken, Neil's friendship had begun to assume insensibly a more tender character; and he was over head and ears in love before he so much as guessed that his heart was in danger. Not that such love as his ever went further than the most respectful devotion. There was something about the lady's air and manner which taught him that her rank was far superior to his; and he never

once presumed to lift his thoughts so high as to dream that such a barrier could be broken down or overleaped. Yet was he as much in love as a man can ever be, who despairs of winning the hand of the object of his heart's devotion, his passion being, perhaps, purified by that very conviction, and giving to his feelings an elevation and a dignity which without it they might never have acquired. Hence, though believing that his friend was about to be permanently delivered from her straits, and not unconscious of joy at the thought, it yet lacerated his heart-strings to reflect, that from the luxury of bidding her adieu he had been cut off; and that no token rested with him of an acquaintance begun under circumstances so peculiar, and by those circumstances matured and ripened at least into friendship.

Such was the burthen of Neil's meditations as he trudged along to encounter, as he believed, the enemy; and then, whether victorious or defeated, to occupy some new cantonments, far from the scenes of what he now began to treat as the happiest moments of his life. His consternation may therefore be

guessed at when the conviction was forced upon him that no such conclusion to the adventure was likely to take place. The enemy did not abide the encounter : they retreated into the mountains on the road to Toledo ; and the allies were ordered to resume their old cantonments. But in re-establishing themselves in their former position, some partial changes occurred in the distribution of the several corps : the British troops, for example, which had hitherto held the left, were directed to post themselves on the right centre of the line, and Churcon, with the villas and farm-houses adjacent, was given up to a division of Portuguese. Now of all the arrangements that could have been made, none was likely to prove so fatal to the captives at the estantia as this. Between the Portuguese and the Spaniards there prevailed then, even more than there prevails now, the most deep-rooted antipathy. The former never failed to retaliate, even upon women and children, the cruelties which they experienced at the hands of the latter ; and the latter permitted no opportunity to escape of wreaking their vengeance, to an extent

which cannot be described without a shudder. "What then," thought Neil, "will become of these poor creatures? If they show themselves to the Portuguese, the Lord have mercy on them!—if they do not, they must perish for lack of sustenance." Neil was all that night, and the whole of next day, like a madman; and nobody could wring from him a statement of the causes which produced his agitation. For he was afraid to give his confidence even to his officers, one of whom was notorious for what the world calls gallantry; that is to say, who, caring for nobody but himself, embraced every opportunity that came in his way to indulge his own bad passions, no matter at what amount of suffering to others their indulgence might be purchased. Yet the poor fellow knew that unless he did take some step of the kind, his friends must perish; and, distressing as the alternative was, he made up his mind to appeal to it.

We never all at once determine to do that which is unpleasant to ourselves. We may keep the matter in view as a last resource; but we are ready to try first one expedient,

and then another, ere we fall back upon it, even when we may be conscious all the while that there is nothing to be gained by delay. In this spirit Neil concluded that there was no course open to him except to make a confidant of his captain; and as to the rest, that he left in the hands of Providence, being himself powerless. Still he resolved to ascertain, first of all, with his own eyes, how affairs stood at the estantia, and at least to take his chance of what the proposed visit to his old quarters might bring forth. Accordingly he applied for and obtained permission to be absent from his cantonments for a few hours, and set out with a quick step and anxious heart towards the casa. It was a clear, bracing morning,—just such another as that which witnessed the commencement of his strange intimacy; and Neil, anxious as he was, could not but be aware of its vivifying influence. On, therefore, he sped, the dark clouds which had overshadowed his mind of late gradually breaking, and a ray of hope, whence proceeding, or how produced, he could not tell, shooting through the intervals. As if fate, more-

over, had resolved to deal kindly by him, Neil ascertained, while yet a good way from his point, that the Portuguese brigade was out for inspection or exercise. "Aha!" said he to himself, "this is fortunate. I have a chance, then, of finding the hall empty; and if so, I shall not fail to take advantage of it. The poor people must be warned of their danger, and persuaded to seek safety in flight. Better do anything than trust to the generosity of those rascally *Tras os Montes* gentry."

Neil pursued his progress, and in due time reached the gate of the outer court of which I have already spoken as covering the front of the mansion. He gazed about him there, and was rejoiced to find that both house and homestead seemed deserted. There was no sound of a human voice,—there was no trace of a human presence; indeed it was only by observing that two or three mules and donkeys were nibbling the scanty herbage hard by, that he became convinced that the cantonments had not been permanently evacuated. But there needed not this conclusive evidence to assure him that the absence of the troops from their

quarters was but temporary. He was on other grounds well aware of the fact ; and he knew, likewise, that if he permitted the present moment to pass unimproved, no similar chance of effecting his purpose was likely to occur. Hastily concocting a tale, therefore, with which to satisfy the inquisitive should any such cross his path, he pushed open the gate, and in another minute had his hand upon the latch of the huge oaken door that gave access to the *lumbre*.

Neil raised the latch, and the door rolled back upon its hinges. He looked in, and saw to his amazement that not only was the hall empty, but that the trap-door stood open. His heart smote him, and he made but a single step in advance. At the very threshold, moreover, he stood still to listen,—for the low tones of a human voice smote upon his ear, and caused his very pulse to suspend its beating. It was not a cry, but a moan, such as might be uttered by one whose articulation was interrupted ; and Neil shuddered as the conviction flashed upon his mind that the voice was a woman's. At the period of which I now write,

every infantry soldier in the British army wore a sword. Neil had not left his behind ; and now, plucking it from the sheath, he sprang towards the orifice, and, without pausing to calculate the risk, made preparations to descend. He would have leaped down at once, regardless of the consequences, had there been light enough to show any bottom to the pit ; but, below, all was dark as night ; and, great as Neil's anxiety was, it did not blind him to the effect upon the parties whom he came to succour, should he break a limb in the vain effort to reach them. But no sooner had he ascertained—and that was accomplished in a moment—that a trap-stair or ladder communicated with the ground below, than his courage revived. A single run carried him down a descent of perhaps twelve feet, at the termination of which he found himself in a vaulted chamber, dimly lighted at the farther extremity by a lamp which hung from the ceiling. Nor was this all. Obscure as the light was, it sufficed to show him several figures in the distance, some lying down, and others in the attitude of persons who have

been struggling violently, but are suddenly interrupted in the midst of their strife. This was quite enough for the Scottish soldier: he guessed at the horrible truth, and, uttering a cry of rage, he rushed forward with his drawn weapon in his hand.

Neil's imagination had not overcoloured the picture of what was going on; neither had his sudden and undesired appearance on the stage escaped the notice of the actors in the drama. Two men, letting go their hold upon a woman, faced about, and, seeing the attitude of the intruder, prepared to defend themselves. But they had not calculated either on the speed of Neil's foot, or on the promptitude with which his hand was accustomed to obey the suggestions of his will. Before they could put themselves in an attitude of defence, one received a thrust in the body which laid him lifeless on the ground; while Neil seized the other by the throat with his left hand, whirled him round and round as if he had been a bundle of rags, and dashed him against the wall.

To accomplish all this was the work of a single moment; the next saw the lady with

whom Neil had so strangely formed an acquaintance, with uplifted hands, and hair dishevelled and loose, kneeling before him. Though his eyes were as yet scarcely reconciled to the 'darkness visible' within the vault, hers, long accustomed to be thus exercised, served her better. She recognised her preserver immediately ; and, being freed from the polluting grasp that had well-nigh stifled her very cries, she now poured forth her gratitude with an eloquence of tone which, in spite of his total ignorance of the Spanish language, went to the young man's heart. Neil was deeply affected ; yet it was well for him that the softer emotions of his soul were not permitted so far to gain the mastery as to render him inattentive to the proceedings of other parties in this strange play ; for the Portuguese whom he had cast from him, recovering from the effects of his fall, was already risen, and made a desperate effort to gain the ladder and escape.

" Devil a bit, old fellow !" cried Campbell, giving chase ; " you stay where you are, if you please ; or d—n me if I don't make

minced meat of you, as I have of your comrade."

Though the fugitive did not understand one syllable of this touching appeal, the grasp of a strong hand upon his collar operated as a sufficient persuasive ; so he stood still, trembling and aghast, as if he were about to undergo the fate which his own conscience probably told him that he merited. But Neil was not blood-thirsty : he had slain one man already,—he did not wish to take the lives of two, however justly forfeited ; indeed, his sole object was to hinder the alarm from being given, and his own capture and that of his new friends from being inevitable. He contented himself, therefore, with leading back the Portuguese to a spot on which the flame from the lamp fell strongly, and then made a sign which his companion, interpreting with her usual alacrity, made haste to answer. There lay upon a sort of couch in the corner of the vault an old man and two children, bound hand and foot with cords, and rendered speechless by means of handkerchiefs drawn tightly over their faces. One of these she delivered

from its bonds, and, giving the cords to Neil, he tied with them the arms of the Portuguese behind his back, and forced him to sit down upon the earth. His next measure was to fasten the man's legs together ; and, last of all, to run the end of the line round the stump of the couch on which the unfortunate Spaniards were lying. And now, having provided against the hazard of immediate discovery, he assisted the lady in releasing her companions from their bonds ; all of whom, it was easy to discover, from their peculiar bearing and manner, were connected both with her and with one another by the bonds of a very near relationship.

Neil had now leisure to examine the appearance of the parties whom he had thus been the means of delivering from a terrible fate. The old man seemed utterly broken down either by years or suffering, or both. The children were very pale and thin, both of them young ; the eldest probably not more than seven, the youngest about five years of age, or something less. Of the lady's appearance I have spoken elsewhere : it was now much as it used to be when she and Neil first

became acquainted, only that she seemed even more haggard and wasted than when they first met, for which Neil was not slow in guessing at a sufficient reason. The fact was, that never, since the departure of the British company from their cantonments in the casa, had one morsel of food passed the lips of the wretched family. They had listened night after night for the well-known signal, which never came; they had borne the miseries of hunger till they could be endured no longer; and that very evening had been driven to take a step which, but for Neil's providential arrival, must have proved fatal to them altogether. The lady, rendered desperate, more by the sufferings of her father and children than her own, had ventured, as she did before, to ascend the trap-stair. The Portuguese soldiers saw her, they made her their prisoner; they forced their way into the vault, and, having bound the old man and children, they compelled Donna Martinez, for such was her name, to guide them through every crevice and corner of the subterranean apartment. It was the depository of the plate, and money, and other valuables,

belonging to the family, all of which the miscreants had collected and tied up in bundles. Finally, they were about to offer to Donna Martinez the last degree of violence, when Providence sent Neil to her aid; after which it is more than probable that they would have put the whole party to death. Such was the shocking tale which, partly by signs, partly by words, to some of which he could here and there affix a meaning, the lady communicated to her preserver, and to which he listened in a state of excited and anxious feeling such as my reader must endeavour to conceive for himself, but which I cannot undertake to describe.

CHAPTER III.

Showing how good and bad fortune alternate in war.

I MUST hurry over the incidents immediately subsequent to the adventure alluded to above, lest I, who am but the chronicler of events as they actually befel, should seem to wander out of my proper province into that of the romancer. It is necessary, likewise, to state that for many of the particulars involved in the explanation just given, Neil was indebted to communications that were made to him at a later period. And in order to prevent the possibility of error, I may as well relate here, once for all, that the old gentleman proved to be father of the lady, whose husband, Don Juan Martinez, after having espoused the cause of Charles of Austria, had, from some sense of personal pique rather than from any change

of principle, transferred his allegiance and his services to Philip of Bourbon. Moreover, like other apostates who have become such, not through conviction, but in obedience to personal feeling, he hated, with an animosity which admitted of no compromise, the party whom he had abandoned. Not content, therefore, to lend his political influence, which was considerable, to his new master, he took up arms in his defence, and, putting himself at the head of a band of armed peasants, became one of the most active and enterprising guerilla chiefs of all by whom the allied forces were harassed.

The mere desertion of his cause and party might have been overlooked by the Austrian prince, for the occurrence was too frequent in those times of trouble and danger to excite surprise under most circumstances, or lasting hostility in any; but when the deserter became a partisan leader into the bargain, that gave an aggravation to his guilt which Charles's ministers knew not how to overlook. He was publicly denounced as a traitor, and a price put upon his head, while orders were issued to secure the persons of whatever members of

his family might fall into the hands of the troops, and to deal with them as hostages. Many weeks elapsed, however, ere the chances of war brought any portion of the allied army into a situation to profit by this order ; nor, to say the truth, were either officers or men aware, when they took possession of the casa de Churcon, that they were in Don Juan's hold. But Juan's family knew it well ; and, being unable to escape, they took refuge in one of those vaulted apartments under the hall, which, for purposes either of security or concealment, are not uncommon in the larger country-houses of Spain. Unfortunately for themselves, however, they neglected to lay in a stock of provisions adequate for more than two days' consumption, for nobody seems to have conceived it possible that the allies would linger there as they did ; and hence Don Juan himself was satisfied, after he saw his father, and wife, and children, in hiding, to retire into the mountains with his armed followers. When, therefore, day after day, week after week passed on, and he found that his casa was still occupied by the English, the poor man's alarm

became so great that he was ready to make any attempt for their expulsion. It was, indeed, the movement of his guerillas alone which brought about that change in the distribution of the British force which had so nearly proved fatal to the recluses, by withdrawing from the vicinity a protector so honest, and in every sense of the word so disinterested, as Neil Campbell.

I return now to my story, from which we learn that Neil, having made his new acquaintances aware of the extreme peril of their existing situation, urged upon them the necessity of an immediate flight, through the allied picquets, if possible, but, at all events, beyond the bounds of the Portuguese cantonments. The little group seemed to understand both his warning and the grounds for it; but their excessive feebleness, as well as the amount of danger to be encountered, caused them to demur to his proposal. At last he remembered the mules and donkeys that were grazing hard by, tethered, as is the custom in like cases, each by one of its fore-legs. By helping out his signs with a frequent repetition of the word

mulo, he succeeded in making Donna Martinez aware of how the case stood ; and she having communicated the intelligence to her father, the old man bowed his acknowledgements. Finally, to make a long tale short, Neil led the lady up the trap-stair, deposited her with the old gentleman and the children in the hall, ran into the orchard and saddled a couple of mules, which he led into the court with as much satisfaction as if he had been making free with property of his own. The old man now mounted one animal, taking a child before him ; the lady mounted the other, which was charged with a similar burthen ; and both calling down blessings on the head of their preserver, and shedding many tears, rode away. Neil watched them for a while, till a rising ground hid them from his view ; and then turned away, fully satisfied in his own mind that they would never meet again.

Neil was a great deal too happy in the idea of having accomplished the object of his excursion, to waste a thought upon the condition and prospects of the Portuguese soldier whom he had bound in the vaulted chamber.

A due regard to self-preservation, likewise, made him feel that he had no business to linger long where he was, for the absent mules were sure to be missed as soon as the troops returned ; and, justifiable as in his own eyes the theft might be, by those who suffered the loss of their property a different view of the case was likely to be taken. Without once troubling himself, therefore, to ascertain whether the trap-door had been shut or left open, he set out at a round pace in the direction of his own cantonments, which he reached in perfect safety within the limits of his furlough ; no human being having crossed him by the way to whom he had a right to suppose that he had been an object of suspicion.

Time passed, and, the allied forces having broken up from their cantonments, Neil accompanied his regiment through all those harassing and complicated operations which transferred the seat of war from Madrid to Valencia, from Valencia back to the fatal field of Almanza, and from Almanza to such forts and

castles as the wrecks of the defeated army were able here and there to maintain. Such was the campaign of 1707, while that of 1708, though less eminently disastrous, sufficed not to make amends for the losses of the preceding year. In like manner, the summer of 1709, if not absolutely wasted, neither produced any results that were favourable to the cause of Charles, nor gave an opportunity to Wade's regiment to distinguish itself. It was widely different in 1710. That year witnessed, in addition to many affairs of less note, the brilliant cavalry action of Almena, where General Stanhope, at the head of sixteen squadrons, overthrew the whole of the enemy's horse ; and, following up his advantage, fought and won the battle of Zaragoza, a triumph by far the most complete which had crowned the efforts of the party since the commencement of the war. Throughout the whole of the marches which gave their character to these campaigns, as well as in all the battles and skirmishes which enlivened them, Neil Campbell did his duty ; and, what is more, escaped not only without a wound, but altogether un-

scathed by the sickness which laid multitudes of his comrades low.

There were two courses before the victors in the fight of Zaragoza, either of which it was in their power to adopt, though the one was manifestly incompatible with the other. They might penetrate into Navarre, occupy Pamplona, and so interpose between King Philip and his expected succours; or they could march upon Madrid, and try the moral effect of a second occupation of the capital, which would thus seem to be the legitimate fruit of a successful effort in the field. Captain Carlton informs us, that by universal consent the falsest step in that whole war was the advancement of King Charles upon Madrid; and our own experience of the state of the country, and the temper of its inhabitants, so far confirms his judgment, that the mere occupation of the capital seems never to have produced in Spain that deep sense of defeat and utter humiliation which a similar catastrophe is apt to create in other kingdoms. In the late war, for example, Spain was not subdued, though Joseph Bonaparte held his court in Madrid for upwards of

four years ; neither was the Duke of Wellington's advance to the capital in 1811 productive of any important result. It is probable, therefore, that Captain Carlton argues soundly when he affirms that the most judicious step to take after the victory at Zaragoza would have been a movement into Navarre. But the chiefs of the allied forces, and particularly General Stanhope, thought otherwise. They believed that, Madrid once occupied, the victors would be able to hold out their hand to their reinforcement from Portugal ; while, by cutting off all communication between the northern and southern provinces of Spain, they would bereave Philip of his best resources for raising another army, and paralyze the exertions of the few that still followed his standard. Accordingly, after halting to recover their discipline, near the scene of their recent triumphs, the conquerors began their march towards the capital, which was entered on the 21st of September by a thousand horse, and a few days afterwards by the main body of the army.

Neil Campbell marched with the main body, and, knowing something of the temper of the

Castilians, was not surprised to find the city little better than a desert. Of its inhabitants almost all were devotedly attached to Philip ; and multitudes of every class, high and low, rich and poor, grandee and peasant, hidalgo and artisan, had followed his fortunes, and abandoned their very homes. The shops were almost universally shut, the private houses closed ; no crowds congregated in the streets and squares, and no one cried, " God bless you !" It was in fact a dreary spectacle, and was so felt both by Charles and his officers, who soon began to perceive the extent of error into which they had fallen, and to anticipate its consequences ; for, while the Portuguese delayed to advance, the French party were indefatigable ; and the enemy, whom in August they had reduced to the brink of ruin, was by the beginning of October superior in numbers to themselves. Nevertheless, having rashly seized Madrid, they were unwilling to relinquish their prize so long as by possibility it could be retained. It was not therefore till the month of November, when the enemy had increased to four-and-twenty thousand men,

and by a rapid march from Valladolid through Salamanca, and across the Sierra de Guadarama, had placed themselves at the bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus, between the Portuguese army and the forces in Madrid, that the latter thought of moving; and then a retreat seems to have been forced upon them as much by the absence of necessary supplies, as by a consideration of the extreme folly of clinging to a district in which, to use the words of General Stanhope, "they were not masters of more ground than they encamped upon."

During the whole period of their sojourn in Madrid, the troops had been without pay; their clothes, and especially their shoes, were completely worn out, and they had been forced to make good the deficiency by a requisition upon the civic authorities,—a measure which tended in no degree to increase their popularity or that of their prince. The consequence was, that while the guerilla bands accumulated around them in the open country, instances of assassination within the city itself were of constant occurrence. Nay, more; so perfect was the understanding that prevailed

between the enemies within and without the gates, that the leaders of these guerillas passed to and fro continually, sometimes without taking the trouble to assume disguises, and on all occasions unharmed. Among them, too, Neil was not surprised to find that there were none more daring than Don Juan Martinez. At the head of his irregular cavalry he would prowl about the suburbs and parks, cutting off stragglers, and making a dash even at armed parties, provided they were weak; nay, he had well-nigh carried off the Archduke Charles himself, when hunting one day in the Prado. It was this feeling of constant insecurity, not less than the dread of a famine, which led the generals to determine on evacuating their unlucky conquest; though, with a hardihood that did them honour, they made up their minds to retain a hold upon Castile, by establishing themselves for the winter in Toledo.

The city in question had been garrisoned, its fortifications strengthened, and its magazines stored, when forth from Madrid filed the troops who, but six short weeks previously, had

entered it with the step of conquerors. Their first day's journey carried them to Ciempuzuelos, where they halted almost within hearing of the bells of the church of Atocha, which rang a succession of merry peals at their departure. On their sick, of whom there were now many, several outrages had been perpetrated as often as a waggon fell into the rear, or strength to crawl forward was wanting; while thousands of persons, who till now had never shown themselves, poured forth from the houses, or stood at the balconies, and cursed them as they passed. These were unpleasant signs of the times,—so unpleasant as to render even Stanhope, by far the ablest among the chiefs, uneasy; and he would have gladly pressed forward the movement, so as to reach Toledo ere worse befell. But the timidity of the Archduke Charles effectually baffled him. There came to the camp at Ciempuzuelos tidings that Barcelona was threatened; and nothing would content the Archduke except that with two thousand cavalry, the *élite* of the whole, he should himself hasten to its relief. It was to no purpose that the impolicy

of thus weakening the army in that description of force, which the nature of the country through which they were to pass rendered essential, was pointed out. Charles continued deaf to all such arguments, and took his departure. Then followed a series of councils and deliberations, which ended in a total change of plan ; and on the borders of Aragon, not in the heart of Castile, it was pronounced judicious to look for winter quarters.

The army quitted Madrid on the 9th of November ; and the people were kept from that date up to the 28th under canvass. The weather was cold and rainy all the while, so that sickness rapidly increased ; for not even the most seasoned constitutions can long bear up against daily and nightly exposure to wet. On the 30th, however, head-quarters were transferred to Churcon ; and, by a remarkable coincidence, Neil Campbell found himself again under orders to occupy, with a portion of his regiment, Don Juan's casa. As he moved towards it, the memory of other days revived, and he experienced sensations not dissimilar to those which are apt to affect men when they

revisit, after a long absence, the place of their birth. Donna Isadora's pale cheek, her speaking eye, and soft and most musical voice, were all present with him ; and his heart bounded as the idea crossed his mind that possibly they might meet again. In proportion as he drew near the place, however, all these day-dreams melted away. It was now a complete ruin. The outhouses were levelled with the earth ; the orchard and garden were overrun with rank weeds ; the iron gates, torn from their hinges, lay broken beside the court-yard wall, which exhibited here and there enormous gaps or breaches in its consistency. Neither had the hand of the spoiler spared the mansion itself. The shell, indeed, remained, for it was of great solidity ; and of the roof a portion had escaped ; but, within, the traces of fire were everywhere, of which not even the smell had as yet passed away.

All this went to Neil's heart, for it told a tale utterly subversive of the vision in which, during his short march from the village, he had indulged. Yet a suspicion of the truth broke in upon him too. He remembered that

by his own hand had been deposited in the subterranean portion of the casa two Portuguese soldiers, one stark and stiff, and the other in durance vile; and it not unnaturally occurred to him that the comrades of these ill-used personages, being unable to discover the living cause of their wrong, had vented their fury upon the casa. Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture. The trap-door had been left open: it attracted the attention of the troops when they returned from parade. They descended into the abyss below, and found a rich booty to compensate them for the slaughter of one of their band. But the acquisition of so much wealth sufficed only to control, not to eradicate, the violence of their indignation. They kept the old house entire so long as they themselves stood in need of it, and magnanimously set it on fire when they marched away.

CHAPTER IV.

*Showing how much may be done provided men know
their own minds.*

UPON the devoted heads of the allied chiefs difficulties and dangers were now accumulating. They heard one day that Philip and Vendosme were advancing, and that they were come as far as Talavera de Reyna. Next morning intelligence reached them that the citizens of Madrid had sent to recall their king; while every passing hour brought in some new version of insurrections among the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, and their determination to obstruct the road even into Aragon. Happily for the brave men who composed it, General Stanhope had brought off the garrison of Toledo on the 30th; but though the whole army was thus concentrated,

the impossibility of abiding where they were was apparent, and orders were in consequence issued to move. Nor could this necessary operation be performed except in a manner totally at variance with the first principles of the art of war. Such was their deplorable destitution in the article of provisions, that in order to feed the men by the way, it was found necessary to break up the army into several small columns, and to send each by a road apart from that followed by the others, so as to secure at least the chance of subsistence out of such resources as the country might afford.

On the 3rd of December the column of British troops, amounting in all to about five thousand men, withdrew from Chincon. They marched as in the heart of an enemy's country, covered in front and rear, and on each flank, by skirmishers; and conveyed the little baggage which still belonged to them in the centre of the column, between two regiments. The rain fell upon them as if from buckets, and the roads became so soft, that tedious halts were for ever taking place, while the rear of the column floundered through as it best might.

Moreover, every eminence which they passed made them aware that their steps were closely watched; while from time to time a sharp firing would send its echoes through the leafless groves, as the scouring parties fell in with and engaged the Spanish irregulars. This was particularly the case on the 5th, when a corps of cavalry hung upon the flank of the column, and made frequent attempts to break in upon its patrols. On the 6th, however, General Stanhope reached Brehuega, a little town situated on the river Taguna, surrounded by an old Moorish wall, and imbedded in a ravine among lofty mountains. It was quite dark when the column came in, wet, weary, and famished; for, though the space traversed since they set out in the morning had not been great, the weather was tremendous, and its consequences proved such as they usually are in like cases. The men, jaded to death, did not wait for their regular billets; they threw themselves wherever they could under shelter, or dispersed from house to house in search of provisions, for the lack of which several had fallen down by the way. Al-

together the scene was for a time one of perfect confusion. Yet let honour be awarded where honour is due. There needed but the roll of the drum, or the blast of the bugle, to bring back these stragglers to their places; for their courage was still unbroken, though their animal strength was impaired, and their discipline as little injured as it ever can be under circumstances so disheartening.

Thus passed the night of the 6th,—to all, from the highest to the lowest, a night of great anxiety. The morrow brought with it a revival of order, and the prospect of repose. At Brehuega, it had been determined that the British troops should rest, while Marshal Staremberg, the Austrian commander-in-chief, occupied, for the same purpose, another village, distant from their cantonments about six hours' march. As soon as it was light, therefore, General Stanhope caused a search to be made for corn, of which some scanty stores were found; and, establishing an hospital, he despatched a messenger to inform his colleague of their plight. But scarcely was the dragoon gone, ere small bodies of mounted men began

to show themselves on the hills above, which continued, from hour to hour, to gather strength, till towards noon they became very formidable. It was suggested that they might be driven off by a counter-movement on the part of the British cavalry; but, these being few in number, Stanhope was unwilling to risk them. The wisdom of this determination may be questioned; for a demonstration, had it produced no other result, would have compelled the enemy to show their real force, and so warned the column in time of the danger that threatened it. But, however this may be, the English general was content to keep his troops within the circuit of the old wall, being satisfied that nothing more serious than irregular troops hovered round them, and that such would never presume to molest them in their quarters.

Daylight was now waxing feeble; yet there remained enough of it to convince the English troops that by something much more serious than a band of guerillas was their repose threatened. The enemy's cavalry grew every moment more formidable, and a body of infantry,

imposing both by reason of their numbers and equipment, began to come up. This latter species of force increased every minute, till it was computed to exceed three thousand men ; and so confident did the leaders seem in their numbers and efficiency, that they seized the bridge over the Taguna, and so interposed themselves effectually between the corps of Stanhope and Staremborg. This was a startling manœuvre, which seems to have awakened the British chief to the real state of his situation. He began to believe that Philip's army, making superhuman exertions, had headed him in his route, and that his battle, if fought at all, must be with odds the most tremendous. Stanhope was a gallant soldier, as well as an able man ; and he counted largely on the existence of the same qualities in the mind of Staremborg ; so he resolved to continue where he was, and to defend himself as he best could till the Imperialists should return to bring him off. In this spirit he met a summons from Vendosme, which required him to lay down his arms, with a refusal ; and, causing one of his aides-de-camp to make his way round the

enemy's flank, and so to push for the Austrian head-quarters, he gave orders to strengthen, as far as could be done, the fortifications of the place. Thus the night of the 7th of December was a busy one in Brehuega. Everywhere the troops were employed in cutting loop-holes in the walls of the houses which overlooked the open country, in drawing traverses across the streets, and barricading the gates, the whole of which they accomplished, though destitute of intrenching tools, ere the dawn came on. And now it remained to be seen how long five thousand infantry, altogether unsupported by artillery, and very scantily supplied with ammunition, would be able to hold a town so inadequately fortified against five times their own numbers, in the face of heavy batteries, which were industriously thrown up, and of light cannon planted on the brows of the hills, and so looking down into every lane and alley in the place.

The night before a battle is an anxious one to all men; and the degree of anxiety is increased fourfold when we are aware that we must contend against fearful odds, and that our

resources are limited to the weapons which we carry in our hands, and to the powder and ball that may be about our persons. Neither is it any impeachment on the courage of my hero if I assume, that when he walked that night his lonely round on the rampart, and cast his eye over the circle of fires that hemmed him and his comrades in, he may have wished with more than common earnestness that they had at least a wider field to manœuvre upon, and a better chance than seemed at that moment to be theirs of receiving support in time. For there was not a private in the British army who was ignorant of the conformation of the minds of those by whom their movements were regulated; indeed, in such knowledge I have always found that British soldiers are singularly well versed. Neil, for example, knew perfectly well that Marshal Staremberg, though brave as his own sword, was methodical and calculating, slow in making up his mind to any measure, and not over-active in carrying it into execution, provided it fell not in with the very letter of established usages. Now, such a man might waver and hesitate

even in this case, where hesitation must be fatal ; and if so, what would become of them ? However, Neil ended his reflections, as men in subordinate stations are apt to do, with this grave remark : “ It is no business of mine ;— I have but to fight. Let those who are answerable for the results of the arrangements fret and fume, lest these arrangements should prove to be unfortunate.”

Slowly and heavily the night wore on, its progress being little enlivened to the inhabitants of Brehuega by the sounds which continually reached them of the heavy roll of carriage wheels, and by other noises indicative of the work of the morrow. Anxiously the sentries looked up from time to time, as the clatter of chains and the ringing of intrenching tools disturbed the quiet. But no one came near their posts. They felt indeed that an active enemy was around them ; but on their own personal vigilance during the hours of darkness little demand was made. At last the day broke, and, as if a train had been laid and torch applied to it, there opened from hill and plain a fire of artillery, which told with

prodigious effect upon the miserable fortifications and exposed condition of the defenders. Two batteries of heavy guns played upon the town wall, which crumbled beneath the shot; while from the high grounds overhead a shower of cannon-balls swept the streets, to which there was nothing to oppose. All, indeed, that Stanhope could effect was to order his people as much as possible under cover, and to keep them there till the enemy should exhibit symptoms of a disposition to advance to the assault. Nor were these dispositions tardy in being displayed. Having again tried in vain the effect of a summons, Vendosme gave orders to push forward, and about noon his grenadiers, in a dense body, supported by two-and-thirty battalions, rushed at the breaches. And now it was that the might of British valour conspicuously displayed itself. Abandoning their shelter in the church and battered houses, the soldiers flew to their proper posts, and poured from loop-hole and parapet such a volume of fire upon the assailants, that they seemed to be swept from the very face of the earth. It was to no purpose

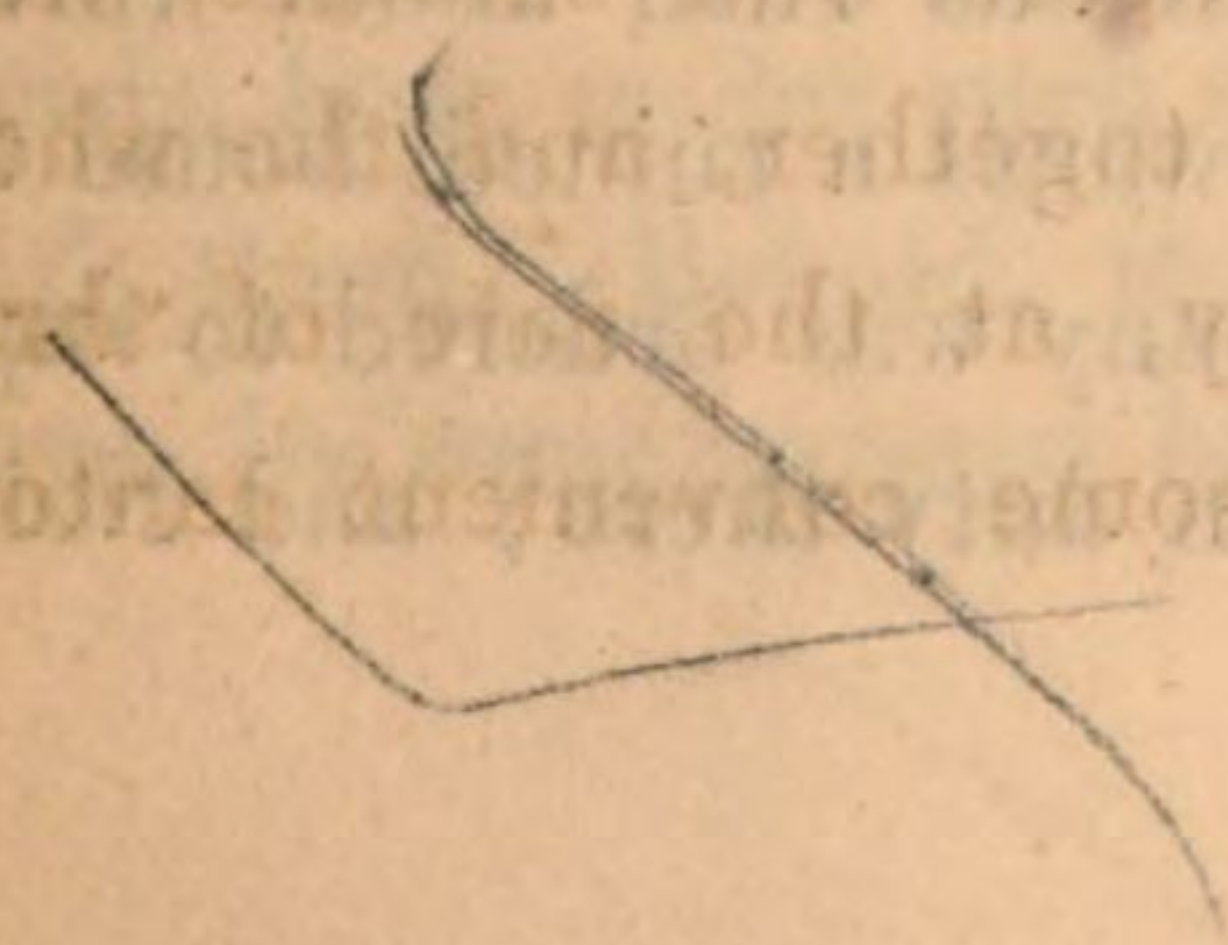
that, planting a petard at one of the gates, the enemy blew it open, or that some of his people, more resolute than the rest, forced their way through the ruins which the artillery had caused, and stood for a moment in the street. With the bayonet they were either cut down or hurried out again, which did its work with tremendous effect, even after the scanty stock of ammunition which each man carried in his pouch was exhausted.

It was now five o'clock in the evening ; and the enemy, finding the fire of the British troops grow slack, urged forward a second assault, by which several of the gorges of streets were won. This indeed was inevitable, for almost every cartridge in the men's pouches had been expended, and the few that were left the owners naturally saved with a view to self-preservation. An attempt was, however, made to dislodge the assailants, and partly succeeded ; that is to say, the British rushed at the houses with lighted flambeaux and set them on fire ; but even this availed them little. Fresh columns came up, fresh lodgements were effected ; and General Stanhope, seeing no hope of

relief, and conscious of his inability to resist longer, was compelled to seek a parley. It is a mortifying situation to be thrown into, when you hang out a flag of truce, only that you may stipulate for what the world calls honourable terms of capitulation : yet the bravest may be reduced to it ; and when, as in this case, it is appealed only to save the lives of defenceless men, nobody can blame the proceeding. And, to do him justice, Vendosme was fully sensible of the merits of the gallant corps to which he had been opposed. He accepted their submission on terms such as the most fastidious could not object to, and became master of the ruins of Brehuega.

As I am writing of facts, not of fictions, it may be necessary to add, that by virtue of the capitulation the British troops, both officers and men, as well as their servants, attendants, and camp-followers, were to retain their baggage, without being liable so much as to have it searched. The officers and soldiers, likewise, were to be kept together, and the whole conducted in a body, at the rate of three leagues per day, to some convenient canton-

ments near the sea, whence, on the first opportunity, they should, in exchange for a like number of French or Spanish prisoners, be transported to England. Besides these leading articles, there were others which provided that the unarmed men should be protected against the insults of the peasantry, and that the sick and wounded in Brehuega should be carefully attended to, and supplied with all things necessary to their health and comfort. I have mentioned these facts in detail, because what remains of my little narrative is intimately connected with them, and because the honour of the gallant band who laid down their arms before an enemy whom they had often defeated, requires that the statement should be given.



CHAPTER V.

*Showing how French Marshals keep their words,
Spanish Peasants display their magnanimity,
and Ladies their gratitude.*

WHERE was Neil Campbell all this while? — and how fared it with the hero of my drama? He had done his duty as became him throughout the greater part of the day. From early dawn till long after noon he had stood the foremost in the fight, and, except a trifling scratch from a French officer's sword, during a rush at one of the gates, he was perfectly uninjured. Not long, however, was he enabled to think of himself as of one who bore 'a charmed life.' There was a furious rush about three o'clock in the day, towards a ruined house to the left. Neil's company was ordered to support the detachment on duty there; and Neil,

in passing along the rampart, received a musket-ball in his thigh, which passed clean through the flesh. This was not a moment to make much of little ; so he pushed on, conscious only that something had struck him, and had discharged his piece several times with effect, when another shot disabled him entirely. This time the wound was in his hip ; and so severe, that it spun him completely round, and then stretched him on the earth. His comrades looked at him to see whether he were dead, and found that he still breathed ; upon which two lifted him in their arms, and bore him to the hospital.

Gentle reader, has it ever been thy fate to be carried helpless and wounded to a military hospital, while the fight is going on ? If it have, then thou wilt stand in no need of instruction from me ; if not, peradventure thy respect for those whom honour and duty render liable every day to such a mode of treatment may not be lessened, if I tell thee, in few words, how, under such circumstances, it fares with them. Behold, then, the soldier struck down by some unseen hand, faint and almost

without pain when his wound first reaches him, conscious only of the presence of a burning sensation in the part that is injured, and of a numbness that spreads through the rest of his limbs, and a parching thirst that chokes up his throat. See him, after lying for a moment motionless, lift up his heavy head, and turn an imploring look towards his comrades that are near him, two or more of whom immediately raise him from the earth, and lead or carry him to the rear. He is conducted to some house, scarcely out of reach of the enemy's artillery, into an apartment of which, where, ranged in rows along each wall, multitudes that preceded him are stretched at length, his conductors deposit him. If there be straw on which to rest the poor invalid, a fortunate man is he ; if a mattress, then may kings on their down beds envy him. If neither of these comforts be near, why, then he stretches himself at length on the bare boards, and waits, with what patience he can command, till it shall be his turn to be attended to. How bitter are the groans that now fall upon his ear ! for though a wound when first received be sel-

dom painful, the limb no sooner begins to stiffen, and inflammation to come on, than the agony is excruciating. And if the ball have struck a delicate part, such as the instep or the ankle, or any other part where the nerves and sinews are frequent, then God help the poor sufferer! So was it this day with Neil Campbell. To a house on the roof of which the black flag had, with very little effect, been hoisted, his comrades conveyed him; and there, among scores of poor fellows to the full as grievously maimed as himself, he lay, exercising his best patience, till the over-worked surgeon could command sufficient time to apply lint and plasters to his hurts.

It is not, however, by bodily suffering alone that the soldier who is borne off from the field of an unfinished fight is harassed. His mind continues on the stretch, despite of the relaxation of the body, and of each new comer he demands with anxiety not unmixed with alarm how the battle is going. Not often by a British soldier has this question been put under circumstances more distressing than those which weighed upon Neil when he made his

inquiries. He heard the musketry in its full volume, when he reached the hospital. Some time afterwards it slackened, and for a few minutes died entirely away. Each man that came reported that the assailants were repulsed ; and, except that their cannon kept up an uninterrupted roar, it might have been believed that they would not long hold their ground in front of the town. But this delusion, if it prevailed at all, was not of long continuance. Just as the twilight began to deepen into night, the roar of small arms revived, and a second assault, much more to be dreaded than the first, was known to be in progress.

At last came one who communicated to both doctors and patients that all was over. Courage could dare no more,—no more could by valour be endured. They were all prisoners of war ; and though no victor came that night to disturb the wounded in their beds, the gloomy countenances of their attendants assured them that the worst had befallen. Among others General Stanhope came to see them. “ God bless you, general ! God bless

you!" resounded from many mouths; for rarely has an officer in command of troops been more beloved. "We hope it is not all up with you yet. Never mind us. Fight your way through;—you are just the man to do it;—and leave us to our fate, if nothing else will save you and our comrades."

"Poor fellows!" answered Stanhope very much affected; "I would not desert you if I could; but I am now as powerless as you are. The fortune of war has gone against us. But of this great consolation no extremity can deprive me: that never was officer more devotedly served by his men than you have all served me this day; and that if determined courage could have availed against overwhelming numbers, both you and I would have been at this moment our own masters."

"Well, sir, don't be down-hearted," was the answer. "If we have done our duty to please you, we need no other witness to our character; and if you be left to us, whether as prisoner or free man, we are sure of always having a friend."

"This much then, my men," answered

Stanhope, "I am happy to assure you of. The articles of capitulation have provided that we are not to be separated; and you may depend upon it, that whatever your fate may be, I will share it."

"Hurrah for General Stanhope!" was the reply that burst forth simultaneously from hundreds of throats, as the general passed on to visit other buildings into which his sick and wounded had been carried, and where they now lay in multitudes.

That night the enemy were content to keep possession of the gate of the town: at an early hour next morning they drew up to receive the submission of the English. The ceremony was gone through in a very hurried manner, thanks to the rumoured advance of Marshal Staremborg; and the regiments, having deposited their arms, became prisoners of war. With the disgraceful manner in which the capitulation was immediately violated, by the breaking up of the several corps into minute shreds, I have no concern. The circumstance reflects eternal disgrace upon the memory of Vendosme; for it is ridiculous to argue that

he had no power to prevent such abuses as actually took place, inasmuch as his word was everywhere acknowledged as law. When, therefore, I state that the soldiers were in many instances chained together,—that not only were provisions irregularly issued to them, but that the very water which they drank they were compelled to purchase, and that wherever they went the peasantry insulted and even beat them with impunity, I have said enough to place in its legitimate light the honour of a chief whose language was on all occasions that of the chivalrous knight-errant, but whose generosity seldom cared to look for a wider field than might be found in conversation either oral or written.

There was nothing to be complained of, doubtless, in the breathless haste with which the survivors of the fight were marched to the rear. Marshal Staremborg had actually broken up from his quarters on the arrival of General Stanhope's aide-de-camp, and, though he moved slowly, was moving in advance. The Duke de Vendosme was therefore justified in hurrying his prisoners out of a place where they

were liable every hour to be recaptured. But the worse than indifference which he displayed to the fate of the sick and wounded whom Stanhope, with peculiar earnestness had committed to his protection, admits of no excuse. It might be quite true that to keep any large portion of his force cooped up within the walls of Brehuega would have been impolitic. He had a brave enemy in his front ; and, though superior in point of numbers, was not so far beyond the reach of disaster as that he would have been justified in weakening himself materially in the day of battle. But a few companies of regular troops would have sufficed to ensure the safety of many hundreds of gallant men, who were totally incapable of defending themselves. Even this slender guard Vendosme neglected to furnish. On the contrary, as if he had been ignorant of the dispositions of the miscreants, who, under the denomination of irregulars, hovered about his columns, he gave it in charge to a body of these to look after the wounded, and to take care that they wanted for nothing. I scarcely know in what terms to describe the scene that followed.

Unfortunately, however, the period is yet recent, since similar deeds of atrocity were wrought by the same people, — since whole hospitals of wounded Frenchmen perished under the knives of an infuriated and brutal mob. Yet even with the knowledge of that fact fresh in my mind, I almost shrink from the task, which a regard to historical truth, and the nature of my subject, alike impose upon me.

The British troops laid down their arms at eight o'clock in the morning of the 9th of December, and by ten the whole were in full march, under a sufficient escort, towards Madrid. The remainder of that day the French general's head-quarters were in Brehuega, and the wounded and sick of both armies received good treatment. But, by daybreak on the 10th, Vendosme led forth his battalions to oppose the Austrian, who was advancing to seek him; and but a short time elapsed ere the poor fellows, among whom Neil Campbell lay, found cause to lament the circumstance. First of all, the Spaniards looked in upon them by ones and twos. By and by, groups of four

and six passed through the different wards, cursing the poor fellows as they lay helpless on their straw, and rifling their haversacks and knapsacks in search of plunder. As the day passed on, these visits became more frequent and more harsh. First, the clothes were stripped from the backs of such as wore them ; and next the very straw was dragged from beneath them, under the pretext that it was needed for litter to the horses. It was to no purpose that the maimed men complained, in their broken Spanish, of such brutal treatment ; it was in vain that they appealed to the humanity of persons who seemed equally prepared to inflict and to endure the most atrocious cruelties. Instead of softening, these complaints seemed only to harden the hearts of their persecutors. The ruffians drove away the medical men with imprecations and blows, and last of all began a scene on which my own feelings will not permit me to dwell. Let it suffice to state, that there were miscreants who went from ward to ward, with muskets and bayonets fixed, thrusting and striking at the mutilated men as they lay on

either hand ; and that in many instances, before life was extinct, the object of their cruelty was dragged into the open air, and hurried away to some pit or well, into which he was thrown.

Neil Campbell had watched with no careless eye the progress of atrocity as it went forward. He knew that his own turn must come ; and such was the nature of his hurts, that, both for escape and resistance, he was as little competent as the feeblest of his comrades. What his sensations were, I cannot, therefore, undertake to state. I have conversed with those who, having been left wounded on the field, have seen the plunderers that follow the track of every army take away the lives of others near them, in order to strip them with impunity ; and they have described to me the freezing sensations which came over them, as, closing their eyes and endeavouring to simulate death, they hoped thus to escape the fate which hovered round them. But these men had some chance, whereas Neil had none ; for the Spaniards, as if to make sure of their work, either thrust their weapons into every

body, or dealt to the fallen such blows with the butt-ends of their muskets as would, they imagined, extinguish life, however tenacious. Moreover, granting that he might escape these modes of execution, how could he possibly survive the last act of all? Neil's case, therefore, was desperate indeed; and so he felt it to be. With an agonised prayer he accordingly committed himself to the protection of Heaven; and, turning round upon his face, lay motionless and patient till the fatal stroke should come. And a stroke did come at last. A strong arm dealt him such a blow upon the back with a heavy weapon, that his breath failed, and his senses forsook him; nor did he recover from that trance till fresh injuries to his frame recalled, by their very excess, the consciousness which had deserted him.

It was a violent shaking, a fierce rebounding of his head against the stones, that awakened Neil from that deep trance, and made him aware that the Spaniards were dragging him along the street by the heels. He opened his eyes and gazed wildly round him; and, a youth of gentle aspect happening to pass by, he

called aloud for mercy. The page stopped. He made an effort to reach the tortured man, but was repulsed. Neil repeated his bitter exclamation, but it was not regarded. "Away with him ! away with him ! death to the heretic !" — these were the wild shouts that rent the air ; and he was hurried onwards with a velocity which soon reduced him again to a state of stupor bordering on insensibility. At length the crowd stopped : they were at the brink of a well, into which, as it afterwards appeared, more than a hundred bodies had been cast ; and Neil, lifted up in their arms, was held over the orifice for a moment, and then cast down. All was darkness with him from that time forth ; and all might have so continued till the great day of general reckoning, but for the occurrence of an incident on which he had no right to count.

Neil did not lose his consciousness, strange to say, in the fall. The well was dry,—that is to say, there was but little water at the bottom ; and crowds of victims, hurled down before him, hindered him from experiencing any inconvenience from it. Moreover, as good

luck would have it, he was the last whom the Spaniards appeared to have devoted to that living tomb, for nobody was tossed above him. He could thus, though suffering acutely, breathe with comparative freedom ; and, as no bones were broken, he succeeded, after a struggle, in drawing himself into something like a natural position upon his strange bed. And a strange bed it was ! He lay upon heaps of slain ! He listened, but no groan reached his ear ; he watched carefully, but not a muscle quivered beneath him or around him. He was thus convinced that of that fearful charnel-house he was the sole living tenant. Under other circumstances such a thought might, perhaps, have frozen his blood ; for nobody, however brave, cares to lie among a heap of carcases. But Neil's present plight was far too tremendous in its realities to leave him free to indulge in imaginary terrors. Better had it been if, like those beside him, he had died under the blows of the murderers, than thus be left to perish by slow degrees of pain and hunger. Neil groaned heavily as this idea crossed his mind. But conceive his situ-

ation when the very next moment the earth began to shower down upon him. Gracious heavens ! they were going to fill up the well ! —he would be buried alive ! A shriek,—a wild cry for mercy burst from his lips ; and he repeated it again and again, till the whole shaft rang with the echo. There was a cessation of labour among those who stood above, and the earthy shower was suspended. He shrieked again more loudly than before ; and, in the agony of his despair, pronounced the name of Donna Martinez, coupling it with allusions to what had passed at Churcon, and calling on her to deliver him. Neil spoke in English, but he did not utter these words in vain. A female voice answered him. He held his very breath to listen ; and he thanked God with a torrent of tears, when he recognised the sweet tones of her whom he had just been invoking as his guardian angel.

The reader will be able to imagine, without my pausing to describe, what followed. The poor soldier was soon drawn up from his living grave, and conveyed, with the utmost tenderness, to a place of safety. By night and by

day, moreover, Donna Martinez herself was his nurse ; and, owing much more to her kindness and the strength of his own constitution, than to the skill of the leeches who dressed his hurts, he slowly recovered. But he was never afterwards fit for military service. The wounds which he had received in the battle healed up, and his limb was restored to him ; but the blow upon the back had ruptured the tendons, and he became bowed down and a cripple for life. Even at this cost, however, his preservation had been cheaply purchased, for he was the only individual out of the whole band on whom the mob had wreaked their fury that survived to speak of it. Moreover, there was something in the idea of having owed his life to Donna Martinez which gave to a mind acted upon like that of Neil Campbell indescribable and enduring delight. Long after he returned to his native country he continued to speak of her kindness, — how she watched beside his bed, and administered to him with her own hand both medicine and food ; and the veteran's cheek flushed, and his eye glistened, as he prayed God to bless her.

My tale is told; for the lady's opportune arrival in Brehuega is accounted for by the fact that her husband, having received her back uninjured from her thralldom in Churcon, would never afterwards permit her to be absent from his sight. He equipped her, according to the usages of his country, in the attire of a page, and she became his constant companion on the march, in the bivouac, under sunshine and rain, and once or twice in the thickest of an unlooked-for skirmish. She had hovered around the flank patrol of the English all the way from Churcon to Brehuega, and entered that town with her husband's troops after the English had capitulated. The children and father meanwhile were at Madrid, whither, as soon as he had sufficiently recovered, Neil Campbell was removed, and where, receiving a thousand proofs every day of the gratitude of the whole family, he sojourned many months. But Neil began by degrees to pine for his Highland home; and the wish to revisit it was not opposed. His preservers loaded him with gifts: they supplied him, likewise, with money enough to

render a man in his humble station more than independent, and, after many tears were shed on both sides, they sent him away. Poor fellow ! the ship that carried him to England never reached her port : she was wrecked on the Goodwin Sands, and Neil touched the shores of Kent a beggar. But after wandering about the streets of London for a while, a dependent on casual charity, he made his case known in the proper quarter, and was admitted into Chelsea Hospital, from the date which is marked in the extract that gave rise to this narrative.

A TRADITION OF
KING WILLIAM'S WARS.

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CHAPTER I.

Showing out of what stuff a heroine is formed.

IN the list of old admissions into Chelsea Hospital there is one entry which I am bound to transcribe, in defiance of the shock which its peculiar phraseology may give to minds as sensitive as my own. It runs thus: "19th Nov. 1717. Stair's Dragoons: Catherine Welch, a *fatt* jolly-breast woman, received several wounds in the service, in the habit of a man;—from the 19th July 1717."

The reader will easily believe that the perusal of this legend excited in me no common desire to discover something of the history of the individual to whom it referred. I take it

for granted that a similar feeling is at this moment operating with him ; and it is therefore very satisfactory to me that I am in a condition to gratify his curiosity.

Catherine Cavanaugh, otherwise Catherine Welch, otherwise Catherine Davies, otherwise Mother Ross, was born in Dublin, some time in the year 1667. She was the daughter of an honest and industrious couple, who earned their livelihood, the husband by managing a malthouse and brewery, the wife out of the proceeds of a farm, which in her own name she seems to have rented. They do not appear to have had any other children than Catherine,—at least my authorities make of such no mention ; and Catherine became in consequence a prodigious favourite with them. It was the height of their ambition to render her an accomplished woman, for which purpose they sent her to one of the best schools in the city. But Kate's views were in these respects at variance with those of her parents. She learned to read and write, and to use her needle ; but in scholastic lore she never advanced further. On the contrary, having a strong passion for

out-of-doors occupations, she insisted on residing at the farm, where she handled the flail and guided the plough with as much dexterity as the best of her mother's labourers.

Several instances are recorded of her juvenile habits, of which it is unnecessary to say more than that they entirely acquit her of all undue leaning to the weaknesses, bodily and mental, of a woman's nature. I find, for example, that at eighteen she would mount astride upon the wildest horse, and leap him, without saddle or bridle, over hedge and ditch. She had a passion, likewise, for the refined amusement which is still, I believe, prosecuted at Greenwich fair, namely, rolling down hill in company with a whole troop of persons of like tastes and habits. And as to her personal strength and agility, take this as a specimen:—When the ceremony of proclaiming James the Second was in progress in 1685, Kate happened to be perched on the top of a haystack. She was determined to witness the whole affair; so, making but a single step to the ground, she vaulted over a five-bar gate, and jostled her way through the crowd, till she

reached the heralds themselves. I am afraid that there is in all this very little that appertains to the romantic or the tender; yet was Catherine not without her amiable points too, as will be discovered in the sequel.

Whether Catherine's father was a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, I have not been able to discover; but in politics he was a sturdy Jacobite; for when James came to Ireland, after his expulsion from the English throne, our brewer, among others, took up arms in his defence. "He sold all his standing corn and other valuable effects," says my authority; "and with that money and what he had by him he raised a troop of horse, and set out at the head of it to join the king's army." And here again his daughter, while the process of enlistment was going on, exhibited unquestionable symptoms of that firmness and intrepidity which were in due time to win for her an exalted niche in the temple of Fame. Mr. Cavanaugh, more learned in the qualities of malt than of horseflesh, bought a charger which neither he nor the boldest of his troop could ride. Kate took him in hand, and soon

gave him to the captain as pliable and gentle as need be. Nor was this all. One day a riot took place at the door of a church within which Kate's mother was engaged in her devotions ; and a party of Jacobite soldiers were marched thither, to make prisoners of the congregation. Kate swore to deliver her mother at all events ; for which purpose she armed herself with a spit, and used it so effectually, that, after running the sergeant through the calf of the leg, she burst the cordon, and brought off her mother in triumph. She had well-nigh been brought into trouble for this exploit,—indeed she was some time in confinement ; but the father's zeal in the exiled monarch's cause being weighed against the daughter's indiscriminating violence, Kate was set at liberty.

The author to whom I am mainly indebted for these facts has judged it expedient to mix up his sketch of Catherine's life with an outline of the military operations that took place in Ireland during the eventful years that immediately succeeded the Revolution. It is not my purpose to follow his example in these

respects ; for I do not find that Catherine took any part in the struggle. On the contrary, she appears to have lived quietly with her mother at the farm in the country ; whence she removed, at the termination of the war, to Dublin, and become the companion and assistant, and eventually the successor, of an aunt who kept a public-house not far from College Green. Here, then, we find her established in a line of life which may be supposed to have accorded well with her singular temperament and disposition. Yet it must not be imagined that Catherine, either as an inn-keeper or a breaker-in of fierce horses, was wholly insensible to the tender passion. Long before her settlement on College Green, she had given her heart to a cousin of her own, who behaved ill to her. She accordingly renounced his society, and, with her usual firmness, resisted all his endeavours to reinstate himself in her favour ; but she did not on that account lock up for ever the kindly feelings of her heart. There was in her own employment an insinuating tapster, Richard Welch by name, who found in his mistress's eyes especial

favour, and who was brought to comprehend and take advantage of the good fortune that had befallen him, by means illustrative of the delicacy of sentiment which formed a striking trait in Catherine's character.

Kate sighed in private for her amiable drawer, but could not of course make the first advances. She therefore commissioned an intimate friend to acquaint him with the real nature of his position; not abruptly or by positive assertion, but quietly, by hints, and insinuations, and all those unostentatious but efficient means of proceeding in which, I am sure most unjustly, women are said to be versed. Now honest Welch was slow of comprehension. He could not believe at first that "the lot had fallen to him on such pleasant ground;" indeed, it was not till the kind confidante assured him "she knew almost enough of the matter to promise him success," that he could be induced to move. But he did move at last; and having been abruptly rejected, and told "to mind the business of the house, and not her, which would better become him;" lo! his mistress softened in her ire. In one word,

before the week was out, Catherine Cavanaugh had become Mrs. Welch, and Mr. Welch landlord of the "Pig and Bagpipes."

Catherine's happiness was now complete, and for the space of four years it suffered no abatement. Her husband was docile and generous, as all husbands ought to be; her business thrived; and she had two sons, fac-similes of their father, and was again about to become a mother, when an event befel which gave an entirely novel bearing to her prospects, and called the dormant energies of her nature into full play. The case was this.

The "Pig and Bagpipes" had its tap supplied from the brewery of Alderman Forest, in James-street, (it is necessary to be particular,) whither Mr. Welch proceeded one day as usual to pay his bill; but, contrary to all precedent,—for Kate's house was admirably regulated,—though the evening came, as it generally does, it restored not the husband to his tender and anxious wife. Kate was at first angry,—the most amiable tempers are apt on such occasions to be ruffled,—for she apprehended some lurking design on Welch's part to aim at in-

dependence. But when the night passed without bringing any tidings of the absentee, and the morning proved equally barren, anger gave place to grief, which deepened by degrees into despair; for, though the whole city was scoured, messengers going forth hither and thither in search of him, not a trace could she discover of her missing husband. Now, then, she gave herself up to unbounded sorrow. Somebody must have murdered him; the fifty pounds which he was conveying to Alderman Forest had been the cause of his death,—she could never hold up her head again; nor did she, for the space of twelve long months, during which all traces of him were lost, abstract herself from her griefs, or attend to business. The consequence was that her affairs were beginning to fall into confusion, when the remonstrances of her friends, and a sense of what was due to her children, so far gained the mastery over inordinate sorrow, that she put on her widow's weeds, arrayed her household in mourning, and once more took the lead in the management of the “Pig and Bagpipes.”

How little can the most far-sighted of mor-

tals tell what their fate shall be even on the morrow. Scarcely had my heroine resumed the reins of government in her own house, than a letter was put into her hands, of which, because of the influence exercised by it over the whole of her future destinies, I think I am bound to give a transcript.

“DEAR CATHERINE,

“This is the twelfth letter I have sent you without receiving any answer; which would both surprise and very much grieve me, did I not flatter myself that your silence proceeds from the miscarriage of my letters. It is from this opinion that I repeat the account of my sudden and unpremeditated departure, and the reason of my being enlisted for a soldier. It was my misfortune, when I went out to pay the alderman the fifty pounds, to meet Ensign C—m, who, having formerly been my school-fellow, would accompany me to the alderman’s house, from whence we went, at his request, and took a hearty bottle at the tavern, where he paid the reckoning. Having got a little too much wine in my head, I was

easily persuaded to go on board a vessel that carried recruits, and take a bowl of punch, which I did in the captain's cabin, where, being pretty much intoxicated, I was not sensible of what was doing upon deck. In the interim the wind sprang up fair, the captain set sail with what recruits were on board, and we had so quick a passage that we reached Helvoetsluys before I had recovered from the effects of liquor. It is impossible for me to paint the disorder I was in, finding myself thus divided from my dear wife and children, landed on a strange shore, without money or friends to support me. I raved, tore my hair, and cursed my drunken folly, which had brought upon me this terrible misfortune, which I thought to remedy by getting a ship to carry me back ; but there was none to be found. The ensign, who possibly did not intend me this injury, did all he could to comfort me, and advised me to make a virtue of necessity, and take on in some regiment. My being destitute and unknown compelled me to follow his advice, though with the greatest reluctance ; and I now am, though much against

my inclination, a private sentinel in Lord O——y's regiment of foot, where I fear I must pass the remainder of a wretched life, under the deepest affliction for my being deprived of the comfort I enjoyed while blessed with you and my dear babies, if Providence in his mercy does not relieve me ; the hopes of which, and of once embracing those who alone engross my tenderest affections,—you, my dearest Catherine, and my poor children,—make me endeavour to support my misfortune, and preserve a life which, without you, would be too miserable to be worth the care of your unfortunate but ever loving husband,

“ RICHARD WELCH.”

The effect of this letter upon my poor heroine was such as might be expected. She fainted away, and, being carried to bed, ceased not after her recovery to rave about her “ dearest lost Richard.” It was to no purpose that her friends endeavoured to console her by holding out hopes of his speedy return ; for the letter had been read, of course, by those whom the noise of her fall attracted to her chamber.

She would not listen to their statements ; but, desiring to be left alone, gave herself up to deliberate on the course which it would be advisable to follow. I have said enough of Catherine to show that she was blessed with prompt powers of decision, and inexhaustible endurance, while seeking the end at which she had once resolved to aim ; neither did her resolution fail her in the present instance. She determined, let the cost be what it might, to join her husband, and participate in his fortunes. Accordingly, on the very morning after the receipt of his letter, she let her house ; gave her children, of whom one was dead, in charge of her mother ; and, disposing of her business at a heavy loss, became free as the air of heaven. She then cut off her hair, equipped herself in one of her husband's best suits, including a wig, hat, and silver-hilted sword ; and, knowing that all persons were prohibited from exporting more than the value of five pounds in bullion out of the country, she quilted fifty guineas in the waistband of her breeches. This done, she repaired to the rendezvous of an ensign who was beating up for

recruits, "and offered him her services to go against the French, out of zeal for King William and love for her country." It would appear from this, that, whatever her father's principles might have been, they did not descend to his daughter; but my authority gives me a piece of information respecting the lady, which is at least as interesting. "The hopes," says he, "of soon meeting with her husband, added a sprightliness to her looks which recommended her to the officer, who presently enlisted her, and ordered her to be enrolled, by the name of Christopher Welch, in a company of foot in the regiment commanded by the Marquess de Pisau."

CHAPTER II.

*Showing how a Woman can make war and love,
and effect discoveries.*

THE history of Catherine Welch, as far as we have yet pursued it, makes us aware of two circumstances relating to the management of the army in which the usages of other times differed essentially from those with which we are acquainted. In the first place the surgeon's inspection seems, of old, to have been either very superficial, or not attended to at all; in the next, the drilling of recruits appears to have been deferred till they joined the forces in the field; for Catherine, I find, was shipped at once for Holland, together with a number of persons similarly situated, and never got so much as a uniform till she had marched from Williamstadt to Gorkum, only one day's journey from Landen. At this latter

place, however, the new comers were incorporated with their respective regiments ; and Catherine, in particular, displayed such facility in learning her exercise, that in a few days she was pronounced fit for duty, and took her turn both in guards and outposts.

She was thus employed,—being indeed the sentinel at the Elector of Hanover's chamber-door,—when, in the month of July 1693, the French came on in great force, and attacked the open town of Landen. It was late in the evening when this preliminary movement took place, so that after an hour's firing the battle ceased ; but at an early hour on the following morning it was renewed with fourfold violence and prodigious slaughter, especially to the assailants. Catherine saw but little of that great battle, for almost at its commencement she received a musket-ball through the calf of her leg, which forced her to go to the rear ; yet she is represented as having borne herself with excellent courage, and as quitting the field only by the express orders of Lord Cholmondeley. Yet the wound must have been a severe one, seeing that it confined her for two whole

months to the hospital. Nevertheless her sex escaped detection; and as soon as she recovered she returned to her duty, nothing daunted by the recollection of this her first essay in arms.

The next operation in which I find Catherine engaged was in repairing the dykes near Gertruydenberg, a service of much labour and some hazard, especially in the winter, when she entered upon it. Worms had so completely undermined the embankments, that large portions fell in, and the water, rushing through, had well-nigh overwhelmed her and the officer under whom the working party acted. This was in January 1694; not long after which she was, with sixty men of her regiment, overpowered in a trifling affair of posts, and made prisoner by the French. They were conveyed to St. Germain's, where the wife of James the Second showed them great kindness; and the Duke of Berwick made frequent attempts to draw them into his father's service: but, though others closed with his proposals, Catherine steadily rejected them. "I have already taken an oath to King William," said she,

“and I cannot in honour violate the engagement.” The duke commended her adherence to principle, and ceased his solicitations. But Catherine had a temptation to resist more arduous than this. There was a first cousin of her own, by name Cavenaugh, a captain in the French army, to whom she felt the strongest inclination to make herself known,—an inclination which was overruled only by the dread that a discovery might defeat her purpose of rejoining her husband. She accordingly held her peace ; and, at the end of nine days was, with such of her comrades as continued true, exchanged for some prisoners whom the allies had taken, and sent back to her former corps.

I have not been able to trace Catherine’s progress through the summer of 1694 ; but in the winter she was quartered at a burgher’s house, still in profound ignorance of her husband’s situation, and well-nigh hopeless of ever being able to discover it. Under these circumstances, being naturally of a merry disposition, she began to amuse herself by making violent love to her host’s daughter, a young

and very pretty girl. It soon appeared that her agreeable manners and handsome figure had not been without their effect on the frou's imagination; and the lover conceived herself bound, *in more militis*, to press her suit somewhat incontinently. The young Dutchwoman, without seeking to hide her love, reproved Catherine's presumption, which "so gained Mrs. Davies' heart, that she could not help admiring and acknowledging her esteem for the girl's virtue. She even felt," continues my authority, "a tender passion for her, though, you know, it could not go beyond a Platonic love!"

"The course of true love never did run smooth," says Shakspeare; and this innocent commerce between Catherine and the frou was destined to furnish one proof more, in addition to the many which the world already possesses, of the truth of the poet's observation. There was a sergeant in Kate's regiment, though not attached to the same company, who had likewise cast an amorous eye upon the fair Dutchwoman, and who, finding that his protestations met with no return, endeavoured one day,

when Catherine was on guard, grossly to insult the maiden. He was repulsed in his rude wooing, and the indignant damsel lost no time in making Catherine aware of the wrong which had well-nigh been put upon her; while such was the degree of indignation which arose in Kate's bosom, that a sense of her military position alone withheld her from taking vengeance on the instant. No sooner was she relieved from guard, however, than she sought out the aggressor, and, after upbraiding him with his villany, dared him to single combat. They fought with swords, according to the custom of that day; and both were wounded, Catherine in the right arm, her adversary in the breast and thigh, when the officers, hearing of the encounter, interfered, and put both parties into confinement. But Catherine's statements proved so satisfactory, that no harm accrued to her in the issue. She received a full pardon, got all her arrears of pay, and was discharged, not through any desire to get rid of her, but for the purpose of removing her out of the sergeant's way, who might, it was supposed, being her superior in rank, take

an opportunity of doing her an injury. For this reason she was transferred to Stair's Dragoons, of which Lord John Hay was then the colonel.

As soon as she came forth from prison, Kate flew to her mistress, and was received by her with all the devotion which the peculiarities of the case might be expected to call forth. So grateful, indeed, and so tender was the Dutch maiden, that she proposed at once to become her champion's wife, a proposition for which Kate seems to have been well prepared, and which she contrived to evade, without the slightest loss of credit. After thanking the enamoured girl, and assuring her that their feelings were mutual, she offered to go at once and demand her of her father; to which the other objected, on the obvious ground that a rich burgher would never give his daughter in marriage to a private sentinel. Kate's answer was prompt; and, as I could not possibly improve upon it, I think it best to give both it and the frou's rejoinder in the words which an older chronicler has preserved. "My dear life," exclaimed Catherine, "how could I

bear to see you deserted by your father, stripped of all the comforts of life, and exposed to follow a camp? No; I can neither be so inhuman to you, nor ungrateful to your parent who has procured my liberty. But my love for you shall animate me to such actions as I hope will raise me to a rank that your father need not be ashamed of my alliance; or, if I fail of preferment in this honourable way, I will at any rate endeavour to deserve you, and, if possible, purchase a pair of colours."

"I have heard," replied the frou, "that love and reason are incompatible: this maxim is either false, or you are not the ardent lover you profess yourself. However, I like your proposal of buying a commission, and if your money falls short, let me know it."

So ended this amorous passage in my heroine's life, who departed immediately to join her new regiment, and never saw her tender-hearted Dutchwoman again.

From this date up to the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, Catherine continued to serve in the Low Countries. She witnessed the siege of Namur in 1695, and was personally engaged

in a warm cavalry skirmish which took place near Charleroy, much to the advantage of the allies. She took part, likewise, in the various movements which characterised both that and the following campaign, of which the great object seems to have been, not to bring on a battle, but to avoid one, and so to gain ground, *selon les regles*, as men win games at chess. But it is of her private adventures that I am chiefly required to give an account, of which the most remarkable was, that in the autumn of 1695 she was obliged to support a child, of which, upon the oath of the mother, she was convicted of being the father. “Happily,” says my chronicler, “from this expense she was soon delivered; for the child died in a month, leaving her the reputation of being a father, till her sex was discovered.”

The peace of Ryswick caused a large reduction in the English army, and sent, among others, Mrs. Catherine Welch loose upon the world. The regiment to which she belonged was disbanded, and she returned to Dublin, without having been able to accomplish the object nearest to her heart, by discovering her

husband. Her first inquiries, of course, were as to the condition of her mother and children, all of whom she ascertained to be in perfect health. Yet she did not make herself known to them. On the contrary, retaining her male attire, she lived as a disbanded soldier, in the midst of her relatives, not one of whom discovered the cheat which she had put upon them; and, having fully satisfied herself that all was going on well, she once more offered her services to the king, and was accepted. This was in 1701, when the death of the King of Spain renewed all the elements of strife that still lingered in Europe, and the grand alliance was, by William's sagacity, formed, for the purpose of restraining the ambition of Louis le Grand. Nor did she consider that she had been scurvily dealt with by fortune, when she found herself once more serving in Lord John Hay's regiment, under the immediate command of a Lieutenant Keith, who had formerly shown her marks of kindness. Thus circumstanced, she took part in the affair of Nimeguen, one of the sharpest actions of the kind that were fought during

this campaign ; and not long afterwards contributed to overthrow a superior force of French cavalry, with whom, while carrying on the siege of Keiserswaert, the allied dragoons came in contact.

The campaign of 1702 was, as everybody knows, a campaign of sieges. In these the cavalry took little part ; consequently my heroine's operations were confined to an occasional skirmish, or such services as a foraging excursion, with the attack or defence of a convoy, might give an opportunity to perform. The case was different when, after being marched for the winter into Venloo, she was ordered out as one of the party whose business it was to escort the Earl of Marlborough on his homeward voyage down the Maese. The troops marched by night ; the roads were difficult, and plundering parties of the enemy everywhere abroad. Somehow or other the escort lost their way, which gave an opportunity to the French to board the general's boat, and make himself, with several other officers of distinction, for a few minutes their prisoners. But if Catherine saw nothing of

this, she had a little adventure of her own while riding quietly along the banks of the river. She and her comrades fell by accident upon a hog-sty, in which was a sow with five pigs ; and Kate, an excellent forager, took the liberty of appropriating one of the young porkers to her own use. For this she was challenged by her corporal, who made, likewise, an attempt to deprive her of her booty ; but he did not succeed. From words they proceeded to blows. The corporal, striking at her with his sword, wounded her in one of her fingers, while she, returning the salute with the butt-end of her pistol, closed up his left eye for ever.

Catherine took part in the memorable march which, carrying the Duke of Marlborough, in 1703, from the vicinity of Maestricht to the banks of the Danube, saved the German empire from destruction. At the affair of Donawert she charged gallantly, and received a severe wound, a musket-ball lodging under the hip-bone, and well-nigh depriving her of the use of the limb. Yet she recovered, without the smallest suspicion having been enter-

tained concerning the secret which she was so anxious to preserve ; and again she fought in the great battle of Hochstadt, without sustaining any personal hurt.

She was then employed to guard the prisoners, who were conducted in a wretched plight to the plain of Breda, and there halted, that both they and their escort might refresh on a scanty allowance of bread, and beer, and cheese.

While this was going on, Catherine's attention was attracted to the behaviour of certain women who clustered near, some of whom lamented their husbands who had fallen in the recent battles, while others made themselves happy in the embraces of those whom war had spared. Her heart, not yet absolutely steeled, was softened, and tears began to gather in her eyes, when she suddenly beheld a female rush out of the crowd, and throw herself into the arms of a soldier. Catherine stared at the man, whose features seemed to be familiar ; and became at length convinced that he was no other than her husband. What were then her feelings ! To find him thus, after

all that she had undergone, not only forgetful of her, but evidently attached to another! So great was the effect produced upon the female trooper, that her colour fled, and she had well-nigh fainted. Yet she so far controlled her emotion as to inform a comrade who questioned her touching the cause, that the unexpected sight of a brother, from whom she had long been separated, totally overpowered her; and she sent him to Welch with a request that he would speak to her that day on the main-guard. This done, and both prisoners and escort being refreshed, the whole resumed their march towards Breda, where they arrived in due time, put the captives in ward, and disposed themselves, some as duty required, others according to the dictates of inclination.

It was Catherine's business to seek out her husband; for which purpose she visited the main-guard, whence, not finding him, she adjourned to a public-house at no great distance from the guard. There, as she passed through the kitchen, she saw him drinking with the Dutchwoman,—a spectacle which cut

her to the heart: yet she retained sufficient self-command to take no notice of him, and retired to a private apartment. A flood of tears came happily to her relief, of which she endeavoured to obliterate the traces by washing her face and eyes in the beer which she judged it expedient to order; and then, after calling for another pint, she desired the landlady to send in the man whom she described. He came, and a very pathetic conversation ensued, of which I regret that my limits will not permit me to make a transcript. Its result, however, was the discovery, by Welch, of his faithful and abused wife, a severe reprimand to him for his infidelity, and a determination on her part not to receive him again as a husband, so long as the war should continue. Then was the Dutchwoman sent for, to whom Catherine announced that her lover was a married man, and that she would act both discreetly and with becoming regard to her own safety, if for the future she avoided him. The poor woman, finding that he did not deny the charge, promised to follow the advice which Catherine had given; though

the reader will hear by-and-by that she was not always careful to remember her promise, and that once, at least, she paid dearly for forgetting it.

From this period up to the date of the battle of Ramilies, Catherine continued to serve as a private dragoon, being present in every action in which the cavalry took part, and always acquitting herself like a gallant soldier. In private, too, she had her frolics and adventures, making love, as heretofore, to every pretty woman that crossed her path, and getting out of each scrape by the display of as much address as most men exhibit in order to get into one. Neither does it appear that she and her husband had the smallest intercourse, beyond occasionally conversing together, all the while. But that which his repeated remonstrances failed to effect, the explosion of a French shell, by which her skull was partially fractured, brought about. She was carried out of the field of Ramilies so severely hurt, that she could no longer attend, as heretofore, to appearances ; and, her sex being discovered, the fact was immediately communi-

cated to Brigadier Preston, now the commandant of her regiment. The brigadier, however, would not credit the report. "The thing is impossible," cried he: "Welch is the prettiest fellow and best man in the corps. I will not believe that a woman has or could have acquitted herself as I have seen this pretended miracle do." Nevertheless, being anxious to ascertain the fact, he sent for Richard, who had passed up to that moment for her brother, and obtained from him a summary of her tale, as it has fallen to my lot to tell it. There could be but one issue to this strange adventure. Catherine, seeing that her history was known, revoked the oath which bound her to live apart from her husband, and, being loaded with presents from all the chief officers of the army, put on once more a female garb. A second marriage ensued, to the great delight of a numerous audience, and the cidevant "pretty dragoon" became a camp-follower and a sutler.

CHAPTER III.

*Showing how camp-followers live and thrive, and are
honoured in their latter end.*

OVER the remainder of this singular woman's military career it is not necessary that I should linger. Her life resembled, in almost every particular, those of camp-followers in general, except that her previous habits gave her a contempt for danger which they do not always acquire, and her past services rendered her a sort of licensed personage, with whom nobody would have presumed to take offence. If her husband was employed in the trenches before a beleaguered town, she was sure to find him out, and to bring for him and his favourite comrades, as well officers as privates, abundant supplies of provisions,—for Catherine was both a skilful and an unsparing

forager. Money, viands, wearing apparel, horses, sheep, pigs, fowls, everything, in short, that could be applied to a useful purpose, she was sure to discover and to appropriate ; while, her booty once obtained, he would have been a bold man indeed that would have spoken to her of the necessity of resigning it. It does not appear that these marauding expeditions were always pushed forward with a strict regard to generosity ; but it is certain that they often produced a great deal of merriment, and once or twice proved to be the means of conveying important intelligence to the allied generals.

As a specimen of the sort of mirth of which she was the occasion, take the following anecdote.

It happened once upon a time, soon after the battle of Oudenarde had been fought, that the regiment to which Welch was attached drew up, not far from Courtray, in order to be reviewed. Meanwhile Catherine had gone into the town to buy provisions ; and, coming forth again, astride upon a grey mare, with paniers suspended from the right and left, she

excited a good deal of laughter among the officers, particularly on the part of a Mr. Montgomery, the captain of grenadiers. "You laugh at my grey mare," exclaimed Catherine: "I will run her against your chestnut for a pistole." "A race! a race!" shouted the whole parade, particularly Brigadier Godfrey, who betted another pistole on the lady's side. Accordingly, the course was marked out, and by beat of drum the rivals started. Catherine, as might be expected, was not slow to discover that she was likely to get the worst of it, unless she should accomplish that by a stratagem which the fleetness of her grey mare could not effect. She therefore watched her opportunity, rode with all her might against Captain Montgomery, and pushed him and his horse into a ditch. She then cantered on, and, reaching the goal, was hailed, amid shouts of laughter, as the winner.

Not many months after this, when the allies were engaged in the siege of Ghent, her determination never to be without a well-stocked larder, provided money or hardihood would avail to stock it, proved more conspicuously

useful than by exciting the mirth of her former companions in arms. On the occasion just alluded to, Catherine, arrayed in man's attire, penetrated beyond the English outposts, and, entering a deserted chateau, found there two loaded baskets, the one full of eggs, the other of poultry. She carried them off, as a matter of course, and distributed their contents in the regiment; after which she ventured to the mansion, and made seizure of a quantity of corn, straw, and hay. Encouraged by these successes, she ventured two days afterwards on a third visit, and was surprised, while ransacking the house, by a body of French soldiers, who made her and her grey mare their prisoners. But fortune never deserted this remarkable woman. The officer commanding the detachment was an Irishman, with whom Catherine had formerly had some acquaintance, though he could not recognise her in her male disguise, and she immediately passed herself off as his cousin, by claiming to be the son of his uncle, whom she named. So complete was the deception, that the simple-minded Hibernian not only set her at liberty on

the instant, but told her to get out of the way as fast as she could, for there would be warm work ere long in the English lines. Kate availed herself of his permission to depart, but rode straight to the Duke of Argyle's quarters, whom she accused, with her wonted familiarity, of wasting his time at play, when he ought to be keeping a sharp look-out on the enemy's movements. The consequence was that the duke narrowly escaped being seized in his house, which, considering his high rank in the service, was too much advanced, and that a formidable sortie was met and repulsed, not without much hard fighting and considerable loss on both sides.

Allusion was made some time ago to Catherine's treatment of the Dutchwoman, whom she found on terms of such unequivocal intimacy with her long-lost husband. The case was this:—While the regiment lay in Ghent, Catherine's rival not only had the imprudence to establish herself just opposite to the house at which Welch and his wife resided, but prevailed upon the former to give her a meeting one day in an alehouse. Catherine was not

slow to discover what had happened. She rushed into the room, drew a case-knife, and, before any movement could be made to restrain her, cut off at a blow the woman's nose, and left it dangling by a piece of skin. Surgical assistance being at hand, the nose was sewed on again; but the unfortunate creature never recovered her beauty; neither does it appear that Kate ever heaved a sigh for the havoc which she had committed on her rival's charms.

It would be tedious to relate one by one the various occurrences in which Catherine played a part. They all more or less resembled those which have just been described; for candour obliges me to confess, that from the character of my heroine, whatever of romance might have originally attached to it, was entirely withdrawn. Moreover, she became as indifferent to the lives of others as she was careless of her own. She would shoot a Frenchman, whenever an opportunity offered, with as much indifference as she would kill a pig; and, whether a cannon or a musket were the weapon to be used, was to her a

matter of the most perfect indifference. At the siege of Aith, for example, having made her way into the trenches, and supplied her husband and his friends, as usual, with abundance of food, she looked through the sandbags, and saw a French soldier gathering vegetables from a garden within musket-shot of the lines. She immediately called out to the officer, desiring him to observe what an unerring markswoman she was ; and, seizing a musket, killed the unfortunate forager on the spot. Yet she did not herself go unpunished for this wanton act. Scarcely had she pulled the trigger, when a musket-ball from the town came through the orifice in front of which she was standing, and, splitting her lower lip, and knocking out two of her teeth, beat her to the ground. The men ran to lift her up, fearing lest she had been killed ; but Kate rose of her own accord, spit out the ball, and resumed her former occupation as if nothing had happened. At the siege of Tournay, some time afterwards, her skill as a bombardier was put to a still more satisfactory proof. There was a windmill between one of the allied bat-

teries and the angle of a bastion in the citadel where they desired to breach, which Lord Cobham, who commanded in the trenches, was anxious to have knocked down. "I will give a guinea to any man," cried he, "who hits the post of that mill and brings it down." "Will you?" cried Catherine; "here goes then!" So saying, she levelled a gun, grasped the match, and fired, with such effect, that while she herself was thrown down by the recoil of the gun in its rear, the mill fell with a heavy crash in its front. She was a good deal bruised by the accident, but took her guinea and went to her tent rejoicing.

If there was very little of romance about the character of Kate, there was a large proportion of humour, which not unfrequently would take a somewhat perverse turn. In particular, she seldom forgave a slight; and her mode of revenging it was sometimes ridiculous enough. While a portion of the army lay for winter quarters in Ghent, Catherine had an affair with a young cadet, a gentleman of good fortune and family, who would not

fall into her humours, and resented her familiarities. It happened once upon a time, when Kate was in one of her grotesque moods, that this young gentleman called her impertinent; to which she replied by telling him, that if it were not for the disgrace of setting her wit against boys, she would teach him better manners, and give his ill-breeding the correction it deserved. The youth only turned his back upon my heroine, and observed to the officers that were standing by, "This is what comes of your familiarity with mean people. It is very well for you to bear it, for you have brought it on yourselves; but it is hard upon me, who have always avoided the virago."

"You will do well," replied Catherine, "to be careful in avoiding me for the future," and went away in a rage.

Kate was exceedingly angry, and adopted the following expedient to procure the sort of satisfaction that alone had value in her eyes. She was aware that the cadet was in the habit of visiting a young woman in the town, and that scandal made very free with

the fair one's name in consequence. She accordingly dressed herself in the costume of a man of fashion, and, waiting on the young lady, made violent love to her, promising marriage on the single condition that she would discard the cadet for ever. Catherine's proposals, after some little demur, were accepted; and the fastidious gentleman was met, on his next arrival at his mistress's door, with a denial. But this was not all. Kate took care that her enemy should see her as she walked from the house into which he was refused admittance, and was ready with her sword as soon as the indignant lover called upon her to draw. They exchanged some passes, and would have doubtless carried the quarrel to an extremity, had not Kate's husband chanced to come up at the moment. An explanation of course followed, as well as an ample apology from the cadet for the insult which he had offered; in return for which Catherine undertook to reconcile him to his mistress,—a task which she faithfully accomplished.

In this manner Mrs. Welch spent her time, gaily enough, and not without a fair share of

profit, up to the period when the great battle of Malplaquet was fought. For her husband she ceased not to entertain the most unbounded devotion ; and though many attempts were made to lead her into a breach of the marriage vow, they entirely failed. Bold, masculine, rough, Kate might be ; but she was perfectly chaste, and generous, and kind-hearted. But Kate's happiness, like that of other people, was liable to interruption ; and a heavy misfortune overtook her at last. It chanced that during the advance of the army towards Malplaquet, Kate had been particularly successful in foraging. Riding in front, in the midst of the hussars, she left them to watch the movements of the enemy, while she herself ransacked every house and homestead that fell in her way, till the grey mare was loaded with provisions of every sort, —brandy, beer, and other articles of a higher value. With these she rejoined her husband in the evening, and feasted both him and the officers of his corps superbly. But neither the conversation of his wife, nor the good cheer which she provided, could raise the spirits

of poor Welch. He was convinced that he should not survive the morrow ; and he repeated the expression more than once when the columns were moving to the attack. Neither had the presentiment deceived him. He was struck by a musket-ball soon after entering the wood which covered the left of the enemy's position, and died without a groan.

Catherine was not superstitious ; yet her husband's despondency had made such an impression upon her, that she determined to keep as near to him during the progress of the battle as any regard to her own safety would allow. She resolved, also, that he should suffer no inconvenience from thirst ; and accordingly followed the column close into the wood, bearing in her hand a pitcher full of beer. The shot and shell fell fast about her, and pieces of bark and broken branches tumbled about her ears ; but she still pressed on, till a dog, which always attended her, began to howl piteously, and caused her to look about. A wounded man sat under a tree, who recognised her ; but he did not address

her. He only said, "Poor brute! he would fain tell you that his master is dead." "Dead!" shrieked Catherine: "is Richard dead?" "I don't know," replied the man; "but if not, I am sure that he is very much hurt." Kate did not wait to hear more. She ran forward, turned over nearly two hundred bodies, among which were those of some of the officers to whom she was most attached, and at length discovered Welch just in time to arrest the hand of a stranger, who was about to strip him where he lay. The plunderer fled in all haste; and it was well for him that he did so, for Catherine, moved with grief, would have sacrificed him on the spot. But neither her tears nor bitter cries could recall the spirit that was returned to Him who gave it. Poor Kate was indeed, at that moment, an object of sincere commiseration. Yet even in her sorrow the peculiarities of her character displayed themselves. She dug a grave for the body, interred it with her own hands, and then, mounting her mare, cast from her every article that threatened to impede her progress, and swore to

have revenge. It was not, indeed, without great difficulty that she was withheld from riding into the French lines, where her destruction would have been inevitable.

The grief of Catherine was not only acute, but it was enduring; for she refused throughout a whole week to taste anything, and could not be comforted either by the kindness of the Prince of Orange, or the still more delicate attentions of Mrs. Hamilton, the wife of her colonel. Nay, she continued a widow nearly three months, a very protracted period among women in her circumstances; and gave her hand at last to a grenadier called Hugh Jones, only on the condition that they should not live together till the campaign was brought to an end. This was a sad privation to Jones, who seems to have been greatly attached to her, and had on more than one occasion during Welch's life befriended her with the most perfect disinterestedness. But Catherine would have her own way. Accordingly Jones submitted; and if she could not give to him the unbounded affection which she had formerly bestowed

on Welch, she made him, during the brief season of their wedded existence, a kind and considerate wife.

Kate's career as Mrs. Jones differed in no respect from what it used to be as Mrs. Welch. It was remarked, indeed, for a while that she had lost much of her humour, and that, though she foraged just as efficiently as she used to do, her jokes were less pungent, as well as of far less frequent occurrence. Nevertheless she continued as great a favourite with the army as ever; and when Jones died of a wound received at the siege of St. Vincent, every house and tent was open to her. In particular Brigadier-general Preston, Lord Stair, and Colonel Kirke were her steady friends, all of them employing her occasionally as a cook, and all treating her with the utmost familiarity; indeed the Duke of Marlborough himself took some notice of her, and once gave her a guinea. But Marlborough was at length removed from his command, and the disgraceful arrangements which withdrew the English contingent from the allied army, at a moment when their presence was espe-

cially required, sent them first to Dunkirk, and eventually to their own country. Catherine, however, did not wait for the embarkation of the troops. When active hostilities ceased, she felt that her occupation was gone; and, having obtained a pass, she went on board of ship, and made the best of her way to London.

Catherine's first business on reaching the capital was to seek out her old commander, and to request his interest in procuring for herself and her little ones some means of support from the government. But the Duke of Marlborough was then out of favour, and, except by his advice, could render her no assistance. He gave her money, however, which she received from the duchess also: indeed she was treated by both, on various occasions, with the utmost kindness; and the Duke of Hamilton having undertaken to become her advocate, a memorial was drawn up, and presented by herself to the queen at the next levee. Now, Queen Anne, whatever her faults might be, was not hard-hearted. Kate's story had been told to her, and, being prepared to

receive this application, she soon relieved the petitioner from whatever anxiety might have pressed upon her at the outset. She took the paper into her hand, assured Catherine that she should be provided for, and, observing that she was in the family way, added, "If you are delivered of a boy, I will give him a commission as soon as he is born." Poor Kate was sadly mortified, when the time of her delivery came, to find that she had brought a girl into the world: but a present of fifty pounds from the queen, and the settlement upon her of a pension of a shilling a day for life, gradually reconciled her to what she bemoaned at first as a grievous calamity.

Having thus settled her more pressing affairs, Kate passed over to Dublin for the purpose of ascertaining whether any of those whom she had so long abandoned were yet alive, and whether any portion of her property could be reclaimed. Her mother yet lived, and welcomed her home with tears of joy; her youngest child likewise was an inmate of the workhouse; but the eldest had died at the age of eighteen: and of her goods not a shred

remained. The parties to whom she had let her house, had sold it to others, and neither they, nor the nurse to whom, with her infant, she had entrusted some valuable effects, could give the smallest account of their deposits. Under these circumstances, and being destitute of the funds requisite for carrying on an expensive and tedious lawsuit, Catherine called her philosophy to her assistance; she turned her back upon her own house, and, hiring another public-house, there continued for two years to earn a subsistence. For her pension, strange to say, had been cut down by Lord Oxford from a shilling to five pence; and Kate found it impossible to maintain herself, with any degree of comfort, on so wretched a pittance. In an evil hour, however, a soldier called Davies paid his addresses to her, and won her hand; from which time forth her life became again that of a wanderer, till she attained her final resting-place in the graveyard of Chelsea Hospital.

I have but a few anecdotes more to transcribe, by way of illustrating the character of this extraordinary woman. Having abandoned

the public-house, she followed her husband from place to place, after vainly purchasing his discharge on two separate occasions. He was a sad profligate, and spent more than her industry could earn ; yet she adhered to him with commendable fidelity, and bore with his follies more patiently than might have been expected. On one occasion, while travelling from London to West Chester, the waggon in which she had taken her place was stopped by a highwayman. There was no man among the passengers, all being women, whom Kate had greatly amused during their tardy progress by the history of her own adventures ; and the robber holding in his hand a loaded pistol, the frightened passengers vied with one another as to which should be the first to surrender her purse. It was not so with my heroine. She watched her opportunity, and, observing that the freebooter carried a second pistol in his belt, she suddenly drew it, and, before he could turn round, shot him through the heart. Great was the astonishment of her fellow-passengers, and unbounded the applause which she received when the machine stopped at

Chester ; for the ruffian whom she had slain was a noted desperado, and the terror of the surrounding neighbourhood.

On another occasion, when her husband had served out his time, and they were living together in Windsor, where she kept a small shop, the landlord, without giving them any notice, let the premises on a lease, over their heads, to a bailiff. It so happened that in front of their dwelling stood a row of willows, which Kate had purchased from the preceding tenant, but which her new landlord was led to suppose had become his by virtue of his bargain. These he came one morning to cut down. Now, in addition to the insult which had been passed upon her, Kate found ground of complaint in a threat which the bailiff held out of raising her rent ; and she longed for nothing so much as an opportunity of chastising him. She found it on this occasion ; for no sooner had the carpenter, whom he had sent up into one of the trees, begun to lop, than Kate grasped the branch, and, declaring that it belonged to her, desired the intruders to walk off. High words followed, which soon

led to blows ; and Kate enjoyed the unspeakable satisfaction of soundly thrashing both the bailiff and his man, neither of whom could stand against her for a moment.

But I must have done. As years and infirmities grew upon Kate, she turned her eyes towards those who in early life had befriended her ; and, to their honour be it recorded, she in no instance applied to them in vain. Not satisfied with occasionally supplying her wants, the officers who had served with her in Flanders applied to the proper authorities under George the First, and had her pension brought back to its original amount ; and for some time she lived upon it in Dublin, her husband being again a soldier in one of the regiments of foot-guards. But his discharge, likewise, came at last ; and during three years they dwelt together, in comparative affluence, at Chester. Growing weary of their position, however, they made their final move to London, where, through the interest of her titled friends, they found an asylum in Chelsea Hospital. With respect to Kate herself, her latter days were grievously overclouded, by the

pressure of a complication of mortal diseases. Dropsy, scurvy, and other similar complaints bowed her down; and she died at last of a cold, brought on by sitting up with her husband, whom, in spite of his numerous follies, she would not desert. She was buried in the grave-yard of the hospital, with military honours, on the 7th of July 1739.

THE TAKING OF QUEBEC.

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Among the entries for the year 1760 I find the following: "April 1st—Robert Harris and eight others, eleven years' service, lost his life in the taking of Quebec, and in the action on the 18th of March 1760." Of the personal history of the individual thus described I have not been so fortunate as to discover a trace. That his life resembled the lives of soldiers in general, is indeed fair to assume; and a soldier's life is faithfully narrated, can never be without interest. But as it forms no part of my plan to make fiction supply the place of fact, I abstain from inventing a tale, round which to weave the historical details that are connected with his services. Neither indeed do I believe that any extraordinary attractions are required

THE TAKING OF QUEBEC.

AMONG the entries for the year 1760 I find the following: "48th Foot—Robert Harrison, aged thirty, eleven years' service, lost his right arm at Quebec; admitted an in-pensioner on the 18th of March 1760."

Of the personal history of the individual thus described I have not been so fortunate as to discover a trace. That his life resembled the lives of soldiers in general, it is indeed fair to assume; and a soldier's life, if faithfully narrated, can never be without interest. But as it forms no part of my plan to make fiction supply the place of fact, I abstain from inventing a tale, round which to weave the historical details that are connected with his services. Neither indeed do I feel that any adventitious attractions are required

to awaken the attention of him who reads of the death of Wolfe, and the capture of Quebec. Above all the military exploits that gave a lustre to the eighteenth century, Wolfe's campaign on the St. Lawrence is at once the most romantic and the most brilliant. Therefore let it be connected, as it ought to be, with the traditions of Chelsea Hospital; and let the tale be told, not only without foreign ornament, but in the words of the men who played the most conspicuous parts in the drama which they describe.

I have nothing to do, in this place, with the motives which induced Mr. Pitt to adopt the bold and manly counsels out of which sprang the American campaign of 1759. Enough is done when I state, that in the year preceding certain important advantages had been obtained; that Cape Breton was subdued, Duquesne reduced, and other obstacles to the invasion of Canada removed. To turn these to their right account became henceforth the object of the minister; and, to carry through a portion of his gigantic plan, Major-general Wolfe, then three-and-thirty years of age, was

selected as the fittest instrument. How he acquitted himself in the arduous task assigned to him, the following pages will show.

On the 14th of March 1759, a fleet, consisting in all of seventy-four sail of vessels, of which six were men-of-war, and the remainder transports and ordnance-ships, quitted St. Helen's with a light breeze, and stood down channel. It was commanded by Rear-admiral Holmes, whose instructions were to make the best of his way to Louisbourg, where he would find an armament, both naval and military, assembled, which it was designed that he should reinforce. Several regiments of infantry, together with detachments of artillery and artificers, were embarked on board of this squadron; several more had received instructions to move from various stations in America to the point of rendezvous; and the whole, when united, were to act, under General Wolfe, on the river St. Lawrence, and, if possible, against Quebec itself.

The English part of the expedition fared, upon the whole, tolerably well. A storm over-

took them on the 25th, which dismasted several of the men-of-war, and carried others, with about twenty of the transports, out of sight ; but no vessel foundered, and all came in, by straggling detachments, to the roadstead at Louisbourg. Thither, too, without meeting the slightest injury, the American portion of the army repaired. From Halifax, New York, Boston, Fort Cumberland, and other distant points, troops arrived, which took up their quarters, as they best could, in the town and citadel. Finally, on the 1st of June, the necessary preliminaries having been gone through, an embarkation return was made out, presenting the following details, which, in the eyes of a military reader at least, are not likely to be without interest.

The total amount of infantry fit for duty, including officers and non-commissioned officers of every rank, made up eight thousand two hundred and five. It consisted of the following regiments and portions of regiments : 15th, 28th, 35th, 43rd, 47th, 48th, 58th, 60th second battalion, 60th third battalion, 78th, and three companies of grena-

diers drafted from the garrison of Louisbourg. Of artillery there were, in all, three hundred and thirty, including Lieutenant-colonel Williamson, the commandant, and twenty-one commissioned officers, while the staff consisted of Major-general Wolfe, commander-in-chief, Brigadiers Monkton, Townsend, and Murray,—Colonel Carleton, deputy-quarter-master-general, Major Barré, deputy-adjutant-general, with the usual proportion of aides-de-camp and majors of brigade. Of the troops some were quite inexperienced, others mere recruits, and a few sickly; but on the whole the army was a good one, and the best possible spirit pervaded it.

All things being now ready, and the men and guns on board, the fleet weighed anchor, and, passing Scutari on the 6th, soon began to open the mouth of the St. Lawrence. On the 26th they had penetrated as far as the middle of the Isle of Orleans; and on the 27th those operations began which cannot be described so faithfully, or with such perfect eloquence, as in the words of the gallant chief under whose auspices they were conducted. I am

not ignorant that Wolfe's celebrated despatch has been already given to the public more than once. But its extreme clearness, with the singular elegance and force of its style, render it so complete a model for military compositions in general, that probably few of my readers will be disposed to blame me for inserting it here; and as to that which follows, it must tell its own tale, for on the score of previous acquaintance with it I have no apologies to offer. Till I found it in the state-paper office, it was to me unknown.

Thus writes Wolfe from his "Head-quarters at camp of Montmorenci, river of St. Lawrence, Sept. 2, 1759.

"SIR,—I wish I could upon this occasion have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his Majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with in the operations of the campaign are much greater than we had reason to expect or could foresee, not so much from the number of the enemy, though superior to us, as from the natural strength of the country, which the

Marquess de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

“When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec,—that five battalions of regular troops, completed from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them.

“We found them encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, and entrenched in every accessible part. The 27th June we landed on the Isle of Orleans; but receiving a message from the admiral that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery and a force upon the Point of Levi, I detached Brigadier Monkton with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed the river the

29th, at night, and marched the next day to the point: he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post. The advanced parties on this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side.

“Colonel Carleton marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans, from whence our operations were likely to begin. It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because, from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of Quebec, or even within two miles of it.

“Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great despatch on the Point of Levi, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries. The enemy, perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with sixteen hundred men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired one upon another, and went back again; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large de-

tachment. The effect of this artillery had been so great (though across the river), that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

“ The works for the security of our hospitals and stores on the isle of Orleans being finished on the 9th of July, at night we passed the north channel and encamped near the enemy’s left, the river Montmorenci between us. The next morning Captain Danks’ company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign. The enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops.

“ The ground to the eastward of the falls seemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy’s side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is, besides, a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide ; and I had hopes that possibly means

might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his entrenchments. In reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up ; but the opposite bank was entrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed ; but in these rencounters we had fifty officers and men killed and wounded.

“ The 18th of July two men-of-war, two armed sloops, and two transports, with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on ours, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was, that if we should land between the town and the river at Cape Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

“Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael’s, about three miles above the town; but, perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar (which, being so near to Quebec, they could increase as they pleased) to play upon the shipping, and as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt,) it seemed so hazardous, that I thought it best to desist.

“However, to divide the enemy’s force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carleton, to land at the Point de Trempe, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there. The colonel was fired upon by

a body of Indians the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods. He searched for magazines, but to no purpose; brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

“After this business I came back to Montmorenci, where I found that Brigadier Townsend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and everywhere prepared to receive us.

“As the men-of-war cannot, for want of sufficient depth of water, come near enough to the enemy's entrenchments to annoy them in the least, the admiral had prepared two transports, drawing but little water, which upon occasions might be run aground, to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to

the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket-shot of the entrenchments upon the hill. If the enemy supported this detached force, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, which we most wished for; and, if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them.

“Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st of July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monkton's brigade from the Point of Levi. The two brigades under the Brigadiers Townsend and Murray were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford. This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their entrenchments.

“From the vessel which ran aground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss ; and the more as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musketry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their entrenchment. Orders were sent to the brigadiers-general to be ready with the corps under their command ; Brigadier Monkton to land, and Brigadiers Townsend and Murray to pass the ford.

“At a proper time of the tide the signal was made ; but, in rowing towards the shore, many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop Brigadier Townsend’s march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no

considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land. We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment; and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark; thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

“The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the 2nd Royal American Battalion, got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brigadier Monkton's corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But, whether from the noise and hurry of landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them and join in the attack. Brigadier Monkton was not landed, and Brigadier Townsend was still

at a considerable distance, though upon his march to join us in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who, careless of their persons, had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brigadier Monkton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order.

“ By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night ; a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make ; so that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest, in case of a repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townsend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

“ Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigadiers Townsend and Murray were to have attacked ; and it is pro-

bable that if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and centre, more remote from our artillery, must have borne all the violence of their musketry.

“The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is.

“The place where the attack was intended has these advantages over all others hereabout: our artillery could be brought into use; the greatest part, or even the whole of the troops might act at once; and the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one nor other of these advantages can anywhere else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence. The beach on which the troops were drawn up was of deep mud, with holes cut by several gullies; the hill to be ascended very steep, and not everywhere practicable; the enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot.

If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of St. Charles still remained to be passed before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered ; but the desire to act in conformity to the King's intentions induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

“ Immediately after this check, I sent Brigadier Murray above the town with twelve hundred men, directing him to assist Rear-admiral Holmes in the destruction of the French ships, if they could be got at, in order to open a communication with General Amherst. The brigadier was to seek every favourable opportunity to fight some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore, without success ; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at De Chambaud, and burned a magazine

there, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, clothing, arms, and baggage of their army.

“The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of Fort Niagara; and we discovered by intercepted letters that the enemy had abandoned Cavellon and Crown Point, and were retired to the isle Aux Noix; and that General Amherst was making preparations to pass the Lake Champlain, to fall upon M. Bourlemaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to three thousand men.

“The admiral's despatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the generals to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion that, as more ships and provisions have now got above the town, they should try, by conveying up a corps of four or five thousand men, which is nearly the whole strength of the army after the Points of Levi and Orleans

are left in a proper state of defence, to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution.

“ The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but after consulting the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that, though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men-of-war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town are carefully entrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him a service of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

“ To the uncommon strength of the country the enemy have added, for the defence of the

river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishing with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, though not without loss on our side.

“ By the list of disabled officers, many of whom are of rank, you may perceive, sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting; yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed, as far as I am able, for the honour of his Majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well

seconded by the admiral and by the generals ; happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other parts of America."

This was the last despatch which Wolfe ever penned. His fate is well known ; but my purpose would be incomplete were I to omit the narratives of those on whom his lamented death devolved the responsibility of command. Brigadier Monkton writes as follows :

" River St. Lawrence, Camp at Point Levi,
Sept. 15, 1759.

" SIR,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you that on the 13th instant his Majesty's troops gained a very signal victory over the French, a little above the town of Quebec. General Wolfe, exerting himself on the right of our line, received a wound pretty early, of which he died soon after ; and I had myself the great misfortune of receiving one in my right breast by a ball that went through part of my lungs, and was cut out under the blade-bone of my shoulder. Just as the French were

giving way, I was obliged to quit the field. I have therefore, sir, desired General Townsend, who now commands the troops before the town, (and of which I am in hopes he will soon be in possession,) to acquaint you with the particulars of that day, and of the operations carrying on.

“P.S. His Majesty’s troops behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery. As the surgeons tell me there is no danger in my wound, I am in hopes that I shall be soon able to join the army before the town.”

Now pass we to Brigadier Townsend’s report; a manly, distinct, and soldier-like production, of which I am not aware that in any other collection of printed documents a copy has yet appeared. He dates, “Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759,” and writes thus:

“SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you of the success of his Majesty’s arms on the 13th instant, in an action with the French on the heights to the westward of this town.

“It being determined to carry the opera-

tions above the town, the posts at Point Levi and l'Isle Orleans being secured, the general marched with the remainder of his forces from Point Levi on the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose on the 7th, 8th, and 9th. A movement of the ships was made by Admiral Holmes, in order to amuse the enemy, now posted along the north shore ; but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to canton half his troops on the south shore, where they were refreshed, and re-embarked on the 12th, at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiment of Braggs (28), Kennedy's (43), Lascelles (47), and Anstruther (58), with a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers Monkton and Murray, were put into flat-bottomed boats ; and, after some movement of the ships made by Admiral Holmes, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the north shore, within a league

of Cape Diamond, an hour before daybreak. The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to scramble up a woody precipice in order to secure the landing of the troops by dislodging a captain's post which defended the small entrenched path the troops were to ascend.

“After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the captain's post; by which means the troops, with very little loss from a few Canadians and Indians in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats as they emptied were sent back for the second disembarkation, which I immediately made. Brigadier Murray being detached with Anstruther's battalion to attack the four-gun battery upon the left, was recalled by the general, who now saw the French army crossing the river St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers. On the right of these, again, he afterwards brought Otway's (35): to the left of the grenadiers were Braggs',

Kennedy's, Lascelles', Highlanders, and Anstruther's. The right of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monkton, the left by Brigadier Murray. His rear and left were protected by Colonel Howe's light infantry, who was returned from the four-gun battery just mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him, and where he found four guns.

“General Montcalm, having collected the whole of his force from the Beaufort side, and advancing upon us, showed his intention to flank our left, which I was immediately ordered to protect with General Amherst's battalion (15), which I formed *en potence*. My numbers were soon afterwards increased by the arrival of the two battalions, Royal Americans (60);—and Webb's (48), was drawn up by the general as a reserve, in eight subdivisions with large intervals.

“The enemy lined the bushes in their front with fifteen hundred Canadians and Indians, and I dare say had placed some of their best marksmen there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular fire, upon our whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience and

good order, reserving their fire for the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our posts in our front, which protected the forming of our own line.

“The right of the enemy was formed of half of the troops of the colony, the battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, &c.; the remainder of them Canadians and Indians. Their centre was a column, and formed by the battalions of Bearn and Guyenne; their left was composed of the remainder of the troops of the colony, and the battalion of Royal Russillons. This was, as near as I can guess, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery against us; and we had been able to bring up only one gun, which, being admirably well served, galled their column exceedingly.

“My attention to the left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in the centre, much less to the right; but it is most certain that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved their fire till

within forty yards, which was so well continued, that the enemy everywhere gave way. It was there our general fell, at the head of Braggs' and of the Louisbourg grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets. About the same time Brigadier-general Monkton received his wound at the head of Lascelles'. In the front of the opposite battalions fell also Monsieur Montcalm : his second in command since died of his wound on board our fleet. Part of the enemy made a second faint attack ; part took to some thick copse-wood, and seemed to make a stand.

“ It was at this moment that each corps seemed to exert itself with a view to its own particular character. The grenadiers, Braggs' and Lascelles', pressed on with their bayonets. Brigadier Murray, advancing the troops under his command, briskly completed the rout on this side ; when the Highlanders, supported by Anstruther's, took to their broadswords, and drove part into the town, part to their works at the bridge on the river St. Charles.

“ The action on our left and rear was not

so severe. The houses into which the light infantry were thrown were well defended; being supported by Colonel Howe, who, taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently sallying out upon the flanks of the enemy during the attack, drove them often into heaps; against the front of which body I advanced platoons of Amherst's regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, one of the Royal American battalions had been detached to preserve our communication with our boats; and the other being sent to occupy the ground which Brigadier Murray's movement had left open, I remained with Amherst's to support these dispositions, and to keep the enemy's right in check, and a body of their savages, which, still more towards our rear, opposite our light infantry posts, waited for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

“ This, sir, was the situation of things when I was told in the action that I commanded. I immediately repaired to the centre, and, finding that the pursuit had put part of the troops

in disorder, I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was this effected, when M. de Baucanville, with his corps from Cape Rouge of two thousand men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery and two battalions towards him, upon which he retired. You will not, I flatter myself, blame me for not quitting such advantageous ground, and risking the fruit of so decisive a day for his Majesty's affairs, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted, perhaps, in the very kind of ground he would wish for, amid woods and swamps.

“ We took a great number of French officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon. Their loss is computed to be about thirteen hundred men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars.

“ I have been employed from the day of action to that of the capitulation in redoubting our camp beyond insult ; in making a road up the precipice for our cannon ; in getting up the artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting off their communication with the country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any battery erected, or could have had any, for

two or three days, a flag of truce came out with proposals of capitulation, which I sent back again to town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no further treaty. The admiral had at this time brought up his large ships, as intending to attack the town. The French officer returned at night with terms of capitulation, which with the admiral were considered, agreed to, and signed at eight in the morning of the 18th instant."

The terms granted were, upon the whole, though generous towards the French, highly advantageous to the English. They sent the former back to their native land, with their arms and private baggage; but they put the latter in possession of a very strong place, with its works uninjured, and that, too, at a season of the year when a further continuance in the field must have proved fatal to the health of the besiegers.

Such was the service in contributing to accomplish which Robert Harrison received his disabling wound. For the rest, I have nothing further to state than that he lived some years happily in Chelsea Hospital, and was buried in its cemetery, beside the remains of his comrades.

two or three days a day of these came out with provisions of ammunition, which I sent back again to town, allowing them four hours to calculate, or no further delay. The admiral, half of this time brought up his ships as intending to attack the town. The French officer refused at night with terms of capitulation, which with the admiral were completely agreed to, and signed at eight in the morning of the 15th instant. The terms granted were upon the whole though generous towards the French, might have been more so to the English. They sent the French back to their native land, with their arms and private baggage, but they put the latter in possession of a very strong place, with its works unimpaired, and that also, at a season of the year when further continuance in the field must have proved fatal to the health of the army. These terms were not such as to be in anything to the English. The admiral received his compliments from the French, and he himself, after the rest, I have nothing further to say, that he lived some years happily in England, and was buried in the country, beside the remains of his countrymen.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING MATTER PARTLY HISTORICAL,
PARTLY DESCRIPTIVE.

GOVERNMENT OF CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

CHAPTER I

Showing how Chelsea Hospital has from time to time
been governed.

It is time now that we put these old re-
gends in order to deal with other matters that
demand our attention; none of the most ob-
vious of which has reference to the system of
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Chelsea Hospital since the date of its erec-
tion. According to Grose, "the house is con-
sidered as a garrison;" for which reason he
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There is a mixture of truth and error here
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GOVERNMENT OF CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

CHAPTER I.

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It is time now that we quit these old legends in order to deal with other matters that demand our attention; one of the most obvious of which has reference to the system of internal management that has prevailed in Chelsea Hospital since the date of its erection. According to Grose, "the house is considered as a garrison;" for which reason, he says, a regular guard is mounted every day. There is a mixture of truth and error here which requires to be pointed out. The house is not a garrison; for military law does not prevail in it, neither men nor officers being liable to be tried by courts-martial. Yet guards are mounted daily, and the discipline,

such as it is, is taken care of, under the governor, by a major, an adjutant, and a serjeant-major. Nevertheless, neither these functionaries, nor any others, have a right to innovate, by their own authority, upon any of the established usages of the place. And as to patronage, they possess no more than is conferred by the right of nominating to the situation of a light horseman, and promoting privates to the ranks of corporal, sergeant, and captain. Their duties, indeed, are purely executive, which they discharge subject to the control of a board of commissioners, of the individuals composing which a large proportion have ever been civilians; and which, considered as one of the springs by which the affairs of the country are conducted, is a purely civil corporation.

The commissioners for Chelsea Hospital have from first to last been appointed by the crown, generally by letters patent. They have varied, from age to age, both as to the numbers and qualities of the persons composing them; nobles, bishops, generals, cabinet ministers, and private gentlemen indif-

ferently swelling the list, and taking their seats at the board. I do not know how far it may be necessary to add, that the paymaster-general of the forces, by virtue of his office, has usually presided at the board, and that to him the sovereign has been accustomed to entrust the right of nominating to the offices within the pile, with the exception of those of governor, lieutenant-governor, major, and, I believe, adjutant; all of which are conferred as the rewards of military service, and, like other military appointments, bestowed on the recommendation of the commander-in-chief. But the rest, including the chaplain, physician, surgeon, apothecary, steward, wardrobe-keeper, clerk of the works, and a multitude besides, either stand indebted for their situations directly to the paymaster-general, or hold commissions from the crown which have been granted at his recommendation. Of the gross abuse to which this patronage was formerly liable, I cannot speak too strongly. Chaplains, physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, indeed, besides being in all ages men of some education, had at least the com-

mon claims to notice which their respective professions might advance ; but, when you looked lower, you saw superannuated servants, or other less reputable hangers-on about the families of paymasters-general, or their friends and supporters, thrust into situations for which neither their personal merits nor their previous habits of life entitled them. Nor was another and more palpable misapplication of the paymaster's patronage unfrequent. An active canvasser in times of contested elections, or a partisan, or protégé of a partisan, when there was no contest, found his reward not rarely in Chelsea Hospital, the records of which preserve the names of more than one steward, comptroller, and other public servant, whose qualifications for office were an unhesitating exercise of influence in returning to parliament either his patron or his patron's friend. To the honour of Lord John Russell be it recorded, that under him a complete stop was put to this pernicious system. The warrant of 1833 requires that every place about the hospital which it is possible for an old soldier to fill, shall be filled up from the class of pen-

sioners ; and it is highly improbable that in all time coming a rule so just, as well as wise, will be abrogated.

The constitution of Chelsea Hospital, if I may adopt the expression, is therefore partly civilian, partly military ;—civilian in all points relating to the general administration of its affairs,—military in reference to the habits and proceedings of the pensioners. The old men are, of course, very leniently dealt with. There are no punishments, except confinement within the walls of the building, and, when this fails to produce an effect, expulsion ; while from duty, the slightest ailment beyond the common infirmities of age or wounds sets a man free. Formerly the pensioners used to mount guard with firelocks and bayonets, five hundred stand of arms being always kept in store ; but now, from arms so feeble all deadly weapons have been removed, and the guards go to their respective posts leaning upon their staves.

I subjoin two lists : one, of the statesmen by whom in succession the duties of paymaster-general have been discharged ; another, of

the distinguished officers who from time to time have acted as governors and lieutenant-governors within the hospital. The latter, it will be seen, is in one of its branches incomplete; for the first entry of governors bears a date so recent as 1702. The former includes the names of very many among her sons of whom England has had from age to age the greatest cause to be proud. I have not at my command space enough to sketch, however loosely, the incidents that may have distinguished the public lives of the rest; but I could no more omit all notice of the individual whose name stands at the head of the paymasters-general, than I could fail to speak, in a work like this, of Charles the Second and Nell Gwynne. To Sir Stephen Fox belongs the distinguished honour of having taken an active part in the foundation of the hospital, and as such my reader is entitled to form his acquaintance.

PAYMASTERS-GENERAL.

1665,	Sir Stephen Fox.
1679,	Nicholas Johnson.
1683,	Charles Fox.
1685,	Earl of Ranelagh.
1705, June 25,	James Bridges.
1714, Dec. 25,	Robert Walpole, afterwards Prime Minister.
1715, Dec. 25,	Earl of Lincoln.
1720, June 25,	Robert Walpole.
1721, June 25,	Lord Cornwallis.
1722, June 25,	Spencer Compton (Lord Wilmington).
1730, June 25,	Henry Pelham, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer.
1743, Dec. 25,	Thomas Winnington.
1746, June 25,	William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham.
1755, Dec. 25,	Lord Darlington and Dupplin, afterwards Earl of Kinnoul.
1756, Dec. 25,	Lord Dupplin and Thomas Potter.
1757, June 25,	Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.
1765, June 25,	Charles Townshend.
1766, June 25,	Lord North, afterwards Prime Minister, and George Cook.
1767, Dec. 25,	George Cook and Thomas Townshend.
1768, June 25,	Richard Rigby.
1782, April 10,	Edmund Burke.
— August 1,	Isaac Barré.
1783, April 15,	Edmund Burke.
1784, Jan. 8	W. W. Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville and Prime Minister.

- 1784, April 7, W. W. Grenville and Lord Mulgrave.
 1789, Sept. 4, Marquis of Graham, now Duke of Montrose, and Lord Mulgrave.
 1791, March 7, Dudley Ryder, now Earl of Harrowby, and Thomas Steele.
 1800, July 5, Thomas Steele and George Canning, afterwards Prime Minister.
 1801, March 25, Thomas Steele and Lord Glenbervie.
 1803, Jan. 3, Thomas Steele and H. J. Addington.
 1804, July 7, George Rose and Lord C. H. Somerset.
 1806, Feb. 17, Earl Temple, now Duke of Buckingham, and Lord John Townshend.
 1807, April 4, Charles Long, now Lord Farnborough, and Lord C. H. Somerset.
 1813, Nov. 26, Charles Long, and Frederick J. Robinson, afterwards Viscount Goderich and Prime Minister.
 1817, August 9, Charles Long.
 1826, July 14, William Fitzgerald Vesey Fitzgerald, now Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci.
 1828, July 10, John Calcraft.
 1830, Dec. 13, Lord John Russell.
 1834, Dec. 30, Sir Edward Knatchbull.

N.B. It is worthy of remark, that of the numerous commissioners who control and regulate the affairs of Chelsea Hospital, only the Paymaster-general, the president of the board, receives a salary. He began, in 1715, when the Earl of Lincoln held office, to draw pay, which amounted then to twenty shillings per diem, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds a year. What the emoluments of the office may be now, it is not my business to state.

Statement of the names of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of Chelsea Hospital, with the dates of their respective appointments.

GOVERNORS.

Colonel John Hales,	November 10, 1702.
Brigadier-general Thomas Stanwix,	January 13, 1714.
Colonel Charles Churchill,	June 6, 1720.
Lieutenant-general William Evans,	June 7, 1727.
Field-marshal Sir Robert Rich,	May 6, 1740.
Field-marshal Sir George Howard, K.B.	Feb. 3, 1768.
Field-marshal Marquis of Townshend,	July 6, 1793.
General Sir W. Fawcett, K.B.	July 12, 1796.
General the Rt. Hon. Sir David Dundas, G.C.B.	April 2, 1804.
Field-marshal the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hulse, G.C.B.	Feb. 19, 1820.
General the Honourable Sir Edward Paget, G.C.B.	January, 1837.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

David Crawford, Esq.	January 1, 1694.
Colonel Thomas Chudleigh,	January 14, 1714.
Colonel William Wyndham,	April 15, 1726.
Colonel Thomas Norton,	April 22, 1730.
Colonel John Cossley,	July 3, 1748.
Nathaniel Smith, Esq.	November 6, 1765.
Colonel John Campbell,	February 11, 1773.
General Bernard Hale,	May 1, 1773.

- General William Dalrymple . . . March 22, 1798,
who was succeeded by Sir Thomas Trigge, K.B. in
1804, but who was reappointed the 19th October 1804.
General Samuel Hulse, . . . March, 1807.
Lieutenant-general Sir Harry Calvert, Bart.
and G.C.B. . . . February 19, 1820.
General the Hon. Sir A. Hope, G.C.B. . . Sept. 6, 1826.

CHAPTER II.

Sir Stephen Fox, Knight.

THE subject of this sketch was born at Farley, in Wiltshire, on the 27th of March 1627, being the second son of William Fox, Esq. of that place, a gentleman of good descent and very considerable property. Upon his education in childhood and early youth great care seems to have been bestowed; and the proficiency which he made both in learning and accomplishments amply rewarded the diligence of his tutors. And well it was for him that he did not permit the first and most precious years of his life to be wasted; for he had fallen upon evil times, amid which, and long before the period when young men usually embark in a profession, England had become in all its quarters the seat of civil war.

Though the family to which Stephen belonged engaged zealously in the royal cause, and his elder brother John fought in many battles, Stephen himself does not appear to have buckled on the sword. On the contrary, he seems to have devoted himself entirely to literary pursuits. But when the issue of the fight at Worcester took away their last hope from the Cavaliers, he found it impossible to continue any longer an inhabitant of this country. He fled with his brother to Paris, which he reached in 1650, soon after he had completed his twenty-third year.

The Foxes were well received at the court of Charles the Second, as indeed their merits required that they should be ; and Stephen, in particular, being patronised by Henry Lord Percy, at that time chamberlain of the household, was soon taken into official employment. How his talents were used, and in what estimation he came to be held, the following extract from Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion will show : " On the removal of his majesty from Paris, the charge of governing the expenses of his family, and of payment of

the wages of the servants, and issuing of all moneys, as well in journeys as when the court resided anywhere, was committed to Mr. Stephen Fox; who was well qualified with languages and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion, as was necessary for such a trust: and, indeed, his great industry, modesty, and prudence did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris."

Mr. Fox received this appointment in 1652, of which he discharged the duties with so much zeal and intelligence, that he won the friendship, not only of his royal master, but of the king's sister, the Princess of Orange. It will be remembered that this lady visited her brother at Cologne, during the temporary sojourn there of the exiled court. Poor Charles was then grievously straitened in his means, of which, as was his custom, he endeavoured to take away the sting by treating it as a sub-

ject of merriment. Yet in no instance had the princess the slightest cause to complain that she had been treated otherwise than became her rank. She was greatly struck, perhaps affected, by the circumstance ; and, after closely inquiring into the matter, ascertained that all was owing to the judicious management of Mr. Fox. She presented him with a valuable diamond ring as a mark of her favour, and made an especial request to the king, that, whenever he had any urgent affair to negotiate at the Hague, he would send Mr. Fox as his representative. The consequence was, that the subject of this memoir was employed on various important missions, as well to the prince as to the chief men of Holland ; and he conducted himself with such address, that, during the continuance of the exile, supplies were from time to time afforded to the king, of which the average annual amount cannot be taken at less than ten thousand pounds.

The same prudence and discretion which qualified him to deal with foreign courts, enabled him to maintain a constant communication with the royalists at home. No move-

ment took place, no project was contrived, of which he was not regularly informed : indeed, so perfect were his channels of information, that he was aware of the death of Oliver Cromwell six hours before the news reached Brussels, and told it to the king when his majesty was engaged in a game of tennis with the Archduke Leopold and Don John. From that time forth his sphere of usefulness became enlarged ; indeed, he was more than once selected to carry over to England, not only written despatches,—for these could contain little from the detection of which mischief would be likely to arise,—but verbal messages, such as could be delivered only by a messenger in whom unbounded confidence was reposed.

Mr. Fox married very early in life. He was united to Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. William Whittle of Lancashire, ere the necessities of the times drove him to abandon his home ; and his eldest son, called after himself Stephen, was born in France. This circumstance rendered him, of course, more anxious than he might have otherwise been to secure even the prospect of a more lucrative appointment ; and

the king, who knew both his worth and his circumstances, caused him to be sworn in as cofferer of the royal household. But the appointment was not confirmed after the Restoration; Mr. William Ashburnham having produced a reversionary grant from Charles the First, which could not be set aside. What the merry monarch could do, however, he did for his faithful servant, even in his humility. He granted, by a special instrument, bearing date at Brussels, the 23rd November 1658, to Stephen Fox, Esq. and his heirs, an honourable augmentation to his arms out of the royal ensigns and devices, viz. *In a canton Azure, a fleur de lis Or.* Moreover, on all occasions of state and ceremony, Mr. Fox was brought forward. Thus, when the king had consented, on the invitation of the States-General, to make from Breda a public entry into the provinces, Mr. Fox was united with Sir Edward Walker, garter king of arms, to proceed to the Hague, and to adjust all the ceremonies—in that age neither few nor unimportant—of his majesty's reception in the capital.

Whatever might be the case with others, who

had periled life and sacrificed their time in the royal cause, Mr. Fox had no reason to complain that his merits were overlooked after Charles the Second ascended the throne of his ancestors. He was appointed at once to the office of first clerk of the green cloth, at once the most conspicuous and the best paid situation in the household, under the Duke of Ormond, lord high steward. He had held this appointment but a short time, when there was added to it that of paymaster to the king's guards; two regiments having been embodied in 1660-1, in consequence of the tumults that had attended the insurrection of Venner and the fifth monarchy men. Nor did the stream of royal bounty cease here. When the Dutch war broke out, and it was found necessary to increase the army, Mr. Fox was constituted paymaster-general of all the king's land forces; the emoluments arising from which, being added to those of the first clerkship of the green cloth, placed him in a state, not only of independence, but of opulence. Nor could the gifts of Fortune be bestowed on any one who was more disposed to

use them aright. Mr. Fox was a liberal contributor to the fund for building the College of Arms, after the fire of London; he erected, at his own charge, the church of Farley, the vicarage of which he endowed; built the church of Culford, in Suffolk; new-paved the body of the cathedral at Sarum; and repaired the chancel of a church in the north part of Wiltshire, with which he had no concern, merely because the rector was too poor to repair it himself. Besides these acts of beneficence and piety, I find that to him the hospital at Farley owes its existence and its endowment. It was completed in 1678, and comprises lodgings for six old men and as many old women, a chapel, and a residence for the chaplain, who is likewise styled the warden, and is supported by a rent-charge on the estate of Farley, amounting to the sum of one hundred and eighty-eight pounds. Moreover, there is a school attached, which was likewise established by his beneficence, and in which six boys and six girls are instructed by the warden; while at Burne, in Suffolk, and at Ashby, in Northamptonshire,

his bounty found scope in the erection of similar establishments. That, however, which more than all other occurrences in his life seems most to demand our approbation and gratitude, was the active part which he took in the completion of Chelsea Hospital. No matter with whom the idea may have originated,—whether with him, with his master, or with Nell Gwynne; it is certain that but for his perseverance and wisdom, the project would have come to nothing: and that he took little note of self in the whole matter, is demonstrated by the fact that he made over not less than thirteen thousand pounds towards the completion of the noble design.

Stephen Fox was, as he deserved to be, a prodigious favourite with Charles the Second throughout the whole of his career. In 1665, on the 1st of July, he received at the king's hands the honour of knighthood; and, on the funeral of the Duke of Albemarle, April 30, 1670, he was the first assistant in bearing the royal standard from Somerset House to Westminster Abbey. These, as well as the duty which devolved upon him, of bearing, with five

knights as his companions, the canopy over Monk's effigy, when it was removed from the car to the mausoleum in the Abbey, were duties of state, which, even in the seventeenth century, had their uses. Now they might count for little: yet, even in these days, he who should act as one of the lords of the treasury, and in the same year be created first commissioner in the office of master of the horse, would doubtless be regarded as a person of some influence. Such, however, was the political position of Sir Stephen Fox from 1679 to 1685-6; when, the Earl of Rochester being at the head of the treasury, he withdrew for a season from all public business.

When Sir Stephen Fox undertook the duties of a lord of the treasury, he requested and obtained permission to resign his charge as paymaster of the forces; not, however, till he had obtained that appointment for his son Charles, in conjunction with Nicholas Johnson, Esq. whose name stands second upon my list. This occurred in 1679, when Mr. Fox was little more than twenty years of age: yet, the youth of this joint paymaster does not ap-

pear to have told against him; for, his colleague dying within three years, on him the undivided honours, and duties, and emoluments, of the office devolved. Meanwhile his father's dignities continued to enlarge themselves. On the 18th of February 1684, just twelve days after the accession of James the Second, Sir Stephen became sole commissioner for the master of the horse; and though, for a brief space, the influence of Rochester eclipsed him, that cloud, perhaps the only one that ever seriously darkened his horizon, soon passed away. In 1686, I find Rochester dismissed, and Sir Stephen Fox restored to his seat at the treasury board, in company with John Lord Belasis, Sidney Lord Godolphin, Henry Lord Dover, and Sir John Ernly, chancellor of the exchequer.

Thus far we have followed the fortunes of the first individual under whose management Chelsea Hospital arose and flourished; throughout the whole of which he appears in the light of a devoted servant of his prince,—a sincere and unyielding advocate of the rights of monarchy. But the hour was at hand when

the personal allegiance of the minister must needs be put to a test more searching by far than any which had yet been applied to it. James the Second, by his insane attacks upon the liberty and the religion of his subjects, caused even the most determined royalist to weigh in his own mind the relative duties which he owed to the sovereign and to his posterity. It was determined by a small majority that the claims of the latter were to be preferred to those of the former; and Sir Stephen Fox, not, it is understood, without a severe internal struggle, adopted these sentiments. Being in parliament in 1688, as one of the representatives of the city of Westminster, he concurred in the votes which declared the throne to be vacant, and that it ought to be filled by the Prince and Princess of Orange;—on this sole ground, “That popery was inconsistent with the English constitution; and therefore that papists should be for ever excluded from the succession to the throne of these realms.”

If even in these days we find it somewhat hard to reconcile to our notions of honour and

personal probity such conduct in one who had tasted largely of the bounty of his sovereign, we cannot be surprised to learn that by the sovereign himself, and by such as adhered to his fallen fortunes, Sir Stephen Fox was regarded as a monster of ingratitude. It was said of him, as of Marlborough, that, after obtaining all that he could expect from the house of Stuart, he turned round, like the wolf in the fable, and bit off the hand that fed him : indeed, so indignant was the Jacobite court, that in every proclamation that issued from St. Germain, of which it was the object to win over partisans by the promise of pardon, Sir Stephen Fox was excepted by name. On him, however, who doubtless had been guided throughout by the stern, though sometimes painful pressure of principle, these proofs of rancour among his former friends produced no effect. He accepted office under William the Third as one of the lords commissioners of the treasury, of which he continued to discharge the duties down to the year 1701 ; when, conceiving that the time had come when it became him to look to another world than the present, he

gave up his appointment, and withdrew into private life. From his retirement at Chiswick, where he built a house, he never again emerged, except to walk in procession before Queen Anne at her coronation, on the 23rd of April 1702, and to sit for a brief space in that stormy parliament which preceded the rebellion of 1715; and he died at last, on the 28th of October 1716, full of honours, and in the possession of all his faculties, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

Sir Stephen Fox sat in many parliaments; first for Salisbury, next for Westminster, and, last of all, for Salisbury again. This latter distinction, for such he accounted it, inasmuch as Salisbury being close to the place of his birth, he was accustomed to speak of it as his native city, was pressed upon him by a circumstance which occasioned him great pain: I allude to the death of his son Charles,—first the paymaster-general of the forces, and ultimately vice-treasurer to King William the Third, and receiver-general and paymaster of the revenues in Ireland,—which occurred in the year 1713. But he does not appear to have taken

an active part in the politics of the times. Indeed, his great age, as well as the affliction which the demise of his son occasioned him, rendered this impossible.

Sir Stephen Fox died, as he had lived, a good Christian, a sincere Protestant, a generous and charitable man. His will, indeed, is crowded with bequests to the needy and the afflicted; among which may be enumerated twenty pounds to the poor of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, a like sum to the poor of the chapel in Westminster, forty pounds to the poor in the parish of Chiswick, thirty pounds to the poor of Salisbury, twenty pounds to Cricklade in Wiltshire, ten pounds to the poor of Grunsted, Plaitford, and Whaddon, with eight pounds to the poor of Farley, to be distributed at the discretion of his widow. It is worthy of remark, that this lady, who was his second wife,—his first having died in 1696,—was the mother both of the first Earl of Ilchester and the first Lord Holland; for, out of the numerous offspring which his first marriage had produced, not one survived their father.

Sir Stephen Fox was buried in the church at Farley, which, as has already been stated, owes its existence to his piety.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,

Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED

THE MOST IMPORTANT

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME

PRINTED BY J. STURGEON,
STATIONER AND PRINTER,
AND SELLER OF BOOKS,
IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

